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THE CHARKHA AND THE ROSE



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MESSAGE

This little book reveals how the minds of two great human beings of our century interacted during and after our country's struggle for freedom.

Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru represented two sides of the same Indian medal. Their images will live in the minds and hearts of endless generations of men and women who are anxious to transform India from a stagnant past to a new dynamic age.

This book of selections of passages from letters and speeches of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru aptly described as "the Charkha and the Rose" should enable its readers to expand their knowledge. I hope I am right in thinking that the book will become a useful handbook for many.

ARUNA ASAF ALI

A National Seminar on 'The Complementarity of Gandhi and Nehru — its Relevance, Today and Tomorrow' was organized at Gandhigram, Tamil Nadu, by the Gandhigram Rural Institute with the support of the Implementation Committee for the Commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of India's Independence and the Nehru Centenary, Cabinet Secretariat, Government of India, and was inaugurated by the Vice-President of India, Dr. Shanker Dayal Sharma, at a function presided over by Smt. Shiela Dikshit, Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office and Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs, on Sunday, 27 August 1989 [5 Bhadra 1911 (Saka)].

This book, containing a selection of references by Mahatma Gandhi to Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, and vice versa, has been put together with a view to enhancing public understanding and appreciation of the beauty, sensitivity, and historic significance of their relationship, as also of the normative influence of their composite ideology in accomplishing practical tasks of nation-building and human upliftment in a rapidly evolving world.

New Delhi

SHRINIVASRAO S. SOHONI

9 September 1989

Secretary to the Vice-President of India

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Part—I

**GANDHI
ON
NEHRU**

- C.W.M.G. : The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi—
Published by the Publications Division,
Government of India.
- J.N.S. : Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches—Published by the
Publications Division, Government of India.
- I.F.P. : Indian Foreign Policy—Jawaharlal Nehru,
Published by the Publications Division,
Government of India.

I have said repeatedly, that this movement is not intended to drive out the English, it is intended to end or mend the system they have forced upon us. I have not read Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's speech referred to by the correspondent, but I know him too well to believe that he could have said what is imputed to him. I know that he does not desire their withdrawal from wanton delight and that he will be the first man to harbour as a bosom friend every Englishman who is a lover of India and who wishes to remain as her servant indeed. Nor even in an independent India, do we contemplate prohibition against the residence of Englishmen in our midst on terms settled by the future state of our hope.

Young India, 17.11.1921

MEN AND MEASURES

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has sent the following frank and full reply in answer to my inquiry regarding the charge brought against him by a correspondent of transferring his condemnation of the existing system of Government to its English authors and administrators :

I spoke on three occasions at the Provincial Conference at Agra. I cannot repeat the language I used but I am very clear as to what I meant. On the first occasion I protested against some veiled references to violence. Hasrat Mohani was our President and in his presidential address he expressed his dissatisfaction with the creed of non-violence. Several other speakers used violent language and apparently looked forward to a time when violence would have full play. All this took place on the Karachi Resolution. I laid stress on the non-violent character of the struggle and said that swadeshi was our only hope.

On the second day, I proposed the swadeshi resolution. Notice of an amendment involving a boycott of British goods had been given. It was on this occasion that I probably used the phrases and words which have been misunderstood by Mr. Gandhi's questioner. My whole argument was that so far no way but that of swadeshi had been shown to us to achieve our freedom. I dealt with violence

and disposed of it. I then dealt with various other objections. I stated that I desired most earnestly to rid India of English domination and the charkha and swadeshi were apparently the only means to bring this about.

I spoke a third time in answer to the amendment about boycott of British goods. I had opposed this amendment, and a very heated debate had taken place, about a score of speakers having spoken on either side. The amendment was put to the vote and lost.

It is evident that I have been misreported by some papers. I have not so far seen any report of my speeches and do not know which paper can have done so. My references to "English domination" or the "English Government" have been made to apply to the English people. I may have used the words अंग्रेजों को हिंदोस्तान से अलग करना or some such language, and the reporter may have seized hold of this without reference to the context. As a matter of fact, the very circumstance that I proposed to expel "the English" by swadeshi ought to have convinced the listener that I referred to the system and not to individuals. It would be absurd to try to expel a single Englishman by the charkha.

I cannot of course say that my feeling towards Englishmen as such is entirely impersonal. I hate the system but sometimes, in spite of myself, I cannot help feeling ill will towards a certain individual for sometime at least, and sometimes the ill will is transferred to the English people as a whole. But the feeling is always momentary. I am really surprised at the general absence of ill will against the English.

It is somewhat curious that the sentences to which exception has been taken occurred in a speech opposing a boycott of British goods. I opposed this on the ground, *inter-alia*, that it was opposed to the basic principle of non-co-operation, that it was based on hate and not love and so on. No one who heard me and who understood Urdu could have gone away with the impression that I was taking part in a crusade against individual Englishmen.

It is always difficult to differentiate between a man and his action. I can well believe that if an Englishman insulted me, I would flare up and hit him. But I think this would be weakness on my part.

I have not enough control over myself. I am apt to lose temper at the slightest provocation. I am occasionally very angry with Englishmen. But I have never experienced the desire to “expel” Englishmen as such. In spite of everything I am a great admirer of the English, and in many things I feel even now that an Englishman can understand me better than the average Indian.

The letter illustrates the danger of relying on newspaper reports. The late Sir Pherozeshah Mehta so dreaded the reports that he never made an important pronouncement except in writing. The late Mr. Gokhale used often to insist upon revising reports of his own speeches. If these masters of oratory were in danger of being misreported, what is to be said of those who made their speeches in Hindustani and have the misfortune to be reported in English? In spite of all the goodwill in the world, reporters have rarely succeeded in reporting my speeches correctly. Indeed the best thing would be not to report speeches at all, except when they have undergone revision by the speakers themselves. If this simple rule were followed much misunderstanding could be avoided.

Young India, 8.12.1921

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

BARDOLI

February 19, 1922

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I see that all of you are terribly cut up over the resolutions of the Working Committee. I sympathize with you, and my heart goes out to Father. I can picture to myself the agony through which he must have passed but I also feel that this letter is unnecessary because I know that the first shock must have been followed by a true understanding of the situation. Let us not be obsessed by Devdas's youthful indiscretions. It is quite possible that the poor boy has been swept off his feet and that he has lost his balance, but the brutal murder of the

constables by an infuriated crowd which was in sympathy with non-co-operation cannot be denied. Nor can it be denied that it was a politically-minded crowd. It would have been criminal not to have heeded such a clear warning.

I must tell you that this was the last straw. My letter to the Viceroy was not sent without misgivings as its language must make it clear to anyone. I was much disturbed by the Madras doings, but I drowned the warning voice. I received letters both from Hindus and Mohammedans from Calcutta, Allahabad and the Punjab, all these before the Gorakhpur incident, telling me that the wrong was not all on the Government side, that our people were becoming aggressive, defiant and threatening, that they were getting out of hand and were not non-violent in demeanour. Whilst the Ferozepur Jirka incident is discreditable to the Government, we are not altogether without blame. Hakimji complained about Bareilly. I have bitter complaints about Jajjar. In Shahajanpur too there has been a forcible attempt to take possession of the Town Hall. From Kanouj too the Congress Secretary himself telegraphed saying that the volunteer boys had become unruly and were picketing a High School and preventing youngsters under 16 from going to the school. 36,000 volunteers were enlisted in Gorakhpur, not 100 of whom conformed to the Congress pledge. In Calcutta Jamnalalji tells me there is utter disorganization, the volunteers wearing foreign cloth and certainly not pledged to non-violence. With all this news in my possession and much more from the South, the Chauri Chaura news came like a powerful match to ignite the gunpowder, and there was a blaze. I assure you that if the thing had not been suspended we would have been leading not a non-violent struggle but essentially a violent struggle. It is undoubtedly true that non-violence is spreading like the scent of the otto of roses throughout the length and breadth of the land, but the foetid smell of violence is still powerful, and it would be unwise to ignore or underrate it. The cause will prosper by this retreat. The movement had unconsciously

drifted from the right path. We have come back to our moorings, and we can again go straight ahead. You are in as disadvantageous a position as I am advantageously placed for judging events in due proportion.

May I give you my own experience of South Africa ? We had all kinds of news brought to us in South Africa in our jails. For two or three days during my first experience I was glad enough to receive tit-bits, but I immediately realized the utter futility of interesting myself in this illegal gratification. I could do nothing, I could send no message profitably, and I simply vexed my soul uselessly. I felt that it was impossible for me to guide the movement from the jail. I therefore simply waited till I could meet those who were outside and talk to them freely, and then too I want you to believe me when I tell you that I took only an academic interest because I felt it was not my province to judge anything, and I saw how unerringly right I was. I well remember how the thoughts I had up to the time of my discharge from the jail on every occasion were modified immediately after discharge and after getting first-hand information myself. Somehow or other the jail atmosphere does not allow you to have all the bearings in your mind. I would therefore like you to dismiss the outer world from your view altogether and ignore its existence. I know this is a most difficult task, but if you take up some serious study and some serious manual work you can do it. Above all, whatever you do, don't you be disgusted with the spinning-wheel. You and I might have reason to get disgusted with ourselves for having done many things and having believed many things, but we shall never have the slightest cause for regret that we have pinned our faith to the spinning-wheel or that we have spun so much good yarn per day in the name of the motherland. You have *Song Celestial* with you. I cannot give you the inimitable translation of Edwin Arnold, but this is the rendering of the Sanskrit text. "There is no waste of energy, there is no destruction in this. Even a little of this dharma saves one from many a pitfall." "This dharma" in the original refers to Karma Yoga, and the Karma Yoga of our age is the spinning-

wheel. I want a cheering letter from you after the freezing dose you have sent me through Pyarelal.

Yours sincerely
M.K. GANDHI

C.W.M.G. Vol. 22, P. 435-437

*LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU**

September 15, 1924

I have your most touching personal letter. You will stand it all bravely I know.... Shall I try to arrange for some money for you ? Why may you not take up remunerative work ? After all you must live by the sweat of your brow even though you may be under Father's roof. Will you be correspondent to some newspapers ? Or will you take up a professorship ?

C.W.M.G. Vol. 25, P. 148-149

TESTING YARN

"It should be noted that Pandit Jawaharlal has sent 4,000 yards of yarn in spite of his heavy burden of work. This should encourage other workers."

Navajivan, 7.9.1924

LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

BOMBAY,

September 2, 1924

This letter like the former is meant to be a plea for Jawaharlal. He is one of the loneliest young men of my acquaintance in India.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 25, P. 65

* Regarding this Jawaharlal Nehru wrote: "I had written to Gandhiji and said that I was rather unhappy to be a financial burden on my father and wanted to stand on my own feet. The difficulty was that I was a whole-time worker of the Congress. My father, when he heard of this, was greatly annoyed."

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

September 30, 1925

I know that your burden will be now increased. But you must not endanger your health in any way whatsoever. I am anxious about your health. I do not at all like these frequent attacks of fever you are having. I wish you could give yourself and Kamala a holiday. I want your mental peace.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 28, P. 255

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

January 21, 1926

I am glad you are taking Kamala with you. Yes, if both of you cannot, you at least should come here before you go. You should have clothes that would answer in Europe.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 29, P. 425

LETTER TO MURIEL LESTER

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 25, 1927

I see you want me to give you the name of an Indian friend who could lay the foundation stone for your new hall. The only one I can think of and thoroughly recommend and whom I know personally very well is Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. His address is: Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Clinique Stephani, Montanas Sierre, Switzerland. And you must write to him. Use this letter and draw him. He will come if you want him and you will be pleased to have him. He is one of the truest men I know in India.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 33, P. 252

LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

NANDI HILLS,
May 14, 1927

The idea of Jawaharlal presiding has an irresistible appeal for me. But I wonder whether it would be proper in the present atmosphere to saddle the responsibility upon him. It seems to me to be a thankless task. All discipline has vanished. Communalism is at its height. Intrigue is triumphant everywhere. Good and true men are finding it difficult to hold on to their position in the Congress. Jawahar's time will be simply taken away in keeping the Congress house tolerably pure and he will simply sicken.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 33, P. 321

LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

BANGALORE,
June 19, 1927

Things, as they are shaping in the Congress, confirm the opinion that it is not yet time for Jawaharlal to shoulder the burden. He is too high-souled to stand the anarchy and hooliganism that seem to be growing in the Congress, and it would be cruel to expect him to evolve order all of a sudden out of chaos. I am confident, however, that the anarchy will spend itself before long and the hooligans will themselves want a disciplinarian. Jawaharlal will come in then.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 34, P. 31

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM
SABARMATI
January 4, 1928

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I feel that you love me too well to resent what I am about to write. In any case I love you too well to restrain my pen when I feel I must write.

You are going too fast. You should have taken time to think and become acclimatized. Most of the resolutions you framed and got carried could have been delayed for one year. Your plunging into the 'republican army' was a hasty step. But I do not mind these acts of yours so much as I mind your encouraging mischief-makers and hooligans. I do not know whether you still believe in unadulterated non-violence. But even if you have altered your views, you could not think that unlicensed and unbridled violence is going to deliver the country. If careful observation of the country in the light of your European experiences convinces you of the error of the current ways and means, by all means enforce your own views, but do please form a disciplined party. You know the Cawnpore experiences. In every struggle bands of men who would submit to discipline are needed. You seem to be overlooking this factor in being careless about your instruments.

If I can advise you, now that you are the working secretary of the Indian National Congress, it is your duty to devote your whole energy to the central resolution, *i.e.*, Unity, and the important but secondary resolution, *i.e.*, boycott of the Simon Commission. The Unity resolution requires the use of all your great gifts of organization and persuasion.

I have not time to elaborate my points, but *verb. sap.*

I hope Kamala is keeping as well as in Europe.

Yours,
BAPU

C.W.M.G. Vol. 35, P. 432-433

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
January 17, 1928

I must dictate and save time and give rest to my aching

shoulder. I wrote to you on Sunday about Fenner Brockway. I hope you got that letter in due time.

Do you know that it was because you were the chief partner in the transactions referred to that I wrote the articles you have criticized, except of course about the so-called "All-India Exhibition"? I felt a kind of safety that, in view of the relations between you and me, my writings would be taken in the spirit in which they were written. However, I see that they were a misfire all round. I do not mind it. For, it is evident that the articles alone could deliver you from the self-suppression under which you have been labouring apparently for so many years. Though I was beginning to detect some differences in viewpoint between you and me, I had no notion whatsoever of the terrible extent of these differences. Whilst you were heroically suppressing yourself for the sake of the nation and in the belief that by working with and under me in spite of yourself, you would serve the nation and come out scatheless, you were chafing under the burden of this unnatural self-suppression. And, while you were in that state, you over-looked the very things which appear to you now as my serious blemishes. I could show you from the pages of *Young India* equally strong articles written by me, when I was actively guiding the Congress with reference to the doings of the All-India Congress Committee. I have spoken similarly at the All-India Congress Committee meetings whenever there has been irresponsible and hasty talk or action. But whilst you were under stupefaction these things did not jar on you as they do now. And it seems to me, therefore, useless to show you the discrepancies in your letter. What I am now concerned with is future action.

If any freedom is required from me, I give you all the freedom you may need from the humble, unquestioning allegiance that you have given to me for all these years and which I value all the more for the knowledge I have now

gained of your state. I see quite clearly that you must carry on open warfare against me and my views. For, if I am wrong I am evidently doing irreparable harm to the country and it is your duty after having known it to rise in revolt against me. Or, if you have any doubt as to the correctness of your conclusion, I shall gladly discuss them with you personally. The differences between you and me appear to me to be so vast and radical that there seems to be no meeting-ground between us. I can't conceal from you my grief that I should lose a comrade so valiant, so faithful, so able and so honest as you have always been; but in serving a cause, comradeships have got to be sacrificed. The cause must be held superior to all such considerations. But this dissolution of comradeship—if dissolution must come—in no way affects our personal intimacy. We have long become members of the same family, and we remain such in spite of grave political differences. I have the good fortune to enjoy such relations with several people. To take Shastri for instance, he and I differ in the political outlook as poles as under, but the bond between him and me that sprung up before we knew the political differences has persisted and survived the fiery ordeals it had to go through.

I suggest a dignified way of unfurling your banner. Write to me a letter for publication showing your differences. I will print it in *Young India* and write a brief reply. Your first letter I destroyed after reading and replying to it, the second I am keeping, and if you do not want to take the trouble of writing another letter, I am prepared to public the letter that is before me. I am not aware of any offensive passage in it. But if I find any, you depend upon my removing every such passage. I consider that letter to be a frank and honest document.

With love,

BAPU

C.W.M.G. Vol. 35, P. 469-70

LETTER FROM JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

ALLAHABAD

January 11, 1928

MY DEAR BAPUJI,

The Working Committee is now meeting in Banaras and so I cannot go to Bombay or Sabarmati for some time.

I am loath to inflict another letter on you so soon after my last but I am very much troubled by your criticisms of the Congress resolutions and I feel I must write to you again. You are always very careful with your words and your language is studiously restrained. It amazes me all the more to find you using language which appears to me wholly unjustified. You have condemned in general language the proceedings of the Subjects Committee and specially selected some resolutions for greater criticism and condemnation. May I point out that it is always unsafe to judge on hearsay evidence? You were not present yourself and it is quite conceivable that the opinions you may have formed after a personal visit to the Subjects Committee may have been different. Yet you have chosen to condemn and judge unfavourably the whole Committee, or at any rate a great majority of it, simply basing your judgement on the impressions of a few persons. Do you think this is quite fair to the Committee or the Congress? You have referred to discipline and to the Working Committee as the National Cabinet. May I remind you that you are a member of the Working Committee and it is an extraordinary thing for a member on the morrow of the Congress to criticize, and run down the Congress and its principal resolutions. There has been a general chorus of congratulation on the success of the Madras Congress. This may be wrong or without sufficient basis but undoubtedly there was this general impression in the country and atmosphere counts for a great deal in all public work. And now most people who thought so feel a bit dazed at your criticisms and wonder if their previous enthusiasm was not overdone or mistaken.

You have described the Independence Resolution as “hastily conceived and thoughtlessly passed”. I have already pointed out to you how the country has discussed and considered this question for years past, and how I have personally thought over it, discussed it, spoken about it in meetings, written about it and generally been full of it for the last five years or more. It seems to me that under the circumstances no stretch of language can justify the use of the words “hastily conceived.” As for “thoughtlessly passed” I wonder if you know that the resolution was discussed in the Subjects Committee for about three hours and more than a dozen speeches for and against were made. Ultimately as you know it was passed almost unanimously both in the Committee and the open Congress. Were all the people in the Committee and the Congress who voted for it “thoughtless”? Is this not rather a large assumption? And why should it not be said with greater truth that the small minority opposed to the resolution were mistaken? You mention that last year the resolution was rejected by the Committee. I do not know what inference you draw from this but to me it seems obvious that this can only mean that the Committee and the Congress have been eager to pass it in the past as in the present but refrained from doing so out of regard for you. I hope you will agree with me that it is not healthy politics for any organization to subordinate its own definite opinion on a public issue out of personal regard only.

I am not referring here to the merits of the resolution. But I shall only say this that after prolonged and careful thought a demand for independence and all that this implies has come to mean a very great deal for me and I attach more importance to it than to almost anything else. I have thought over every word you said the other day in Madras on this question and it has merely confirmed me in my opinion. But I doubt if anyone outside a small circle understands your position in regard to this. I am sure that none of the other—liberals, etc.,—who want dominion status think in the same way with you. Yesterday Sir Ali Imam addressed a meeting

here on the Simon boycott. I also spoke for a few minutes and like King Charles' head independence cropped up and I laid stress on it. After the meeting Ali Imam told me that I did well in laying stress on this; he and his friends would probably come round to this position sooner or later but for the time being they had to be a little restrained as they wanted to carry many people with them. I am sure most liberals welcome the Independence Resolution, whatever they may say about it, as they feel that it strengthens their position. But whether they like it or not, it passes my comprehension how a national organization can have as its ideal and goal dominion status. The very idea suffocates and strangles me.

I took no special interest in the resolution on the boycott of British goods chiefly because I felt that it would meet with your strong disapproval and the boycott could not succeed unless a more or less unanimous effort was made. But I have no doubt that it can be made into a partial success if there was some unanimity in our own ranks. You must have read about the wonderful effectiveness of the boycott in China. There was nothing special in China which we have not got and there is no fundamental reason why we cannot succeed where they succeeded. But granting that it is not likely to succeed is it such a laughing matter after all? Has our boycott of foreign cloth by khaddar succeeded so remarkably? Has our spinning franchise succeeded? They have not but you do not hesitate to press them on the country and the Congress because you felt, and rightly, that they would be good for the nation even if they did not wholly succeed.

I remember how Kelkar, Aney and Co., even as members of the Working Committee, used to make fun of the Congress resolutions on khadi, and it is very painful for me to think that you are also ridiculing important Congress resolutions. The Kelkars and Aneys do not count and I do not care what they say or do. But I do care very much for what you say and do.

Having singled out two resolutions for your special condemnation you casually refer to the others as "several

irresponsible resolutions". Excepting the Unity Resolution every other resolution of the Congress may come under this heading. And so the labours of the 200 and odd persons in the Subjects Committee and the larger number in the Congress are summarily and rather contemptuously disposed of. It is very hard luck on the unhappy persons who, though wanting perhaps in foresight and intelligence, did not spare themselves and tried to do their best. We have all sunk to the level of the 'school-boys' 'debating society' and you chastize us like an angry school-master, but a school-master who will not guide us or give us lessons but will only point out from time to time the error of our ways. Personally I very much wish that we were more like real school-boys, with the life and energy and daring of school-boys, and a little less like the right honourable and honourable gentlemen who are for ever weighing the pros and cons and counting the cost.

You know how intensely I have admired you and believed in you as a leader who can lead this country to victory and freedom. I have done so in spite of the fact that I hardly agreed with anything that some of your previous publications—*Indian Home Rule*, etc.,—contained. I felt and feel that you were and are infinitely greater than your little books. Above everything I admire action and daring and courage and I found them all in you in superlative degree. And I felt instinctively that, however much I may disagree with you, your great personality and your possession of these qualities would carry us to our goal. During the N.C.O. period you were supreme; you were in your element and automatically you took the right step. But since you came out of prison something seems to have gone wrong and you have been very obviously ill at ease. You will remember how within a few months or even weeks you repeatedly changed your attitude—the Juhu statements, the A.I.C.C. meeting at Ahmedabad and after, etc.,—and most of us were left in utter bewilderment. That bewilderment has continued since then. I have asked you many times what you expected to do in the future and your answers have been far from satisfying. All you have said had

been that within a year or eighteen months you expected the khadi movement to spread rapidly and in a geometric ratio and then some direct action in the political field might be indulged in. Several years and eighteen months have passed since then and the miracle has not happened. It was difficult to believe that it would happen but faith in your amazing capacity to bring off the improbable kept us in an expectant mood. But such faith for an irreligious person like me is a poor reed to rely on and I am beginning to think if we are to wait for freedom till khadi becomes universal in India we shall have to wait till the Greek Kalends. Khadi will grow slowly, and if war comes it will grow very fast, but I do not see how freedom is coming in its train. As I mentioned before you our khadi work is almost wholly divorced from politics and our khadi workers are developing a mentality which does not concern itself with anything outside their limited sphere of work. This may be good for the work they do, but little can be expected from them in the political field.

What then can be done? You say nothing,—you only criticize and no helpful lead comes from you. You tell us that if the country will not even take to khadi how can we expect it to do anything more difficult or daring. I do not think the reasoning is correct. If the country does not go ahead politically by one method, surely it is up to our leaders to think of other or additional methods.

Reading many of your articles in *Young India*—your autobiography, etc.,—I have often felt how very different my ideals were from yours. And I have felt that you were very hasty in your judgements, or rather having arrived at certain conclusions you were over-eager to justify them by any scrap of evidence you might get. I remember how in an article on the “Two Ways” or some such title—you gave some newspaper cuttings from America about crimes and immorality and contrasted American civilization with Indian. I felt it was something like Katharine Mayo drawing conclusions from some unsavory hospital statistics. Your long series of articles based on the French book—“Towards Moral Bankruptcy”—

also made me feel the same way. You misjudge greatly, I think, the civilization of the West and attach too great an importance to its many failings. You have stated somewhere that India has nothing to learn from the West and that she had reached a pinnacle of wisdom in the past. I certainly disagree with this viewpoint and I neither think that the so-called *Ramaraj* was very good in the past, nor do I want it back. I think that western or rather industrial civilization is bound to conquer India, may be with many changes and adaptations, but none the less, in the main, based on industrialism. You have criticized strongly the many obvious defects of industrialism and hardly paid any attention to its merits. Everybody knows these defects and the utopias and social theories are meant to remove them. It is the opinion of most thinkers in the West that these defects are not due to industrialism as such but to the capitalist system which is based on exploitation of others. I believe you have stated that in your opinion there is no necessary conflict between capital and labour. I think that under the capitalist system this conflict is unavoidable.

You have advocated very eloquently and forcefully the claims of the *Daridranarayana*—the poor in India. I do believe that the remedy you have suggested is very helpful to them and if adopted by them in large numbers will relieve to some extent their misery. But I doubt very much if the fundamental causes of poverty are touched by it. You do not say a word against the semi-feudal zamindari system which prevails in a great part of India or against the capitalist exploitation of both the workers and the consumers.

But I must stop. I have already exceeded all reasonable limits and I hope you will forgive me. My only excuse is my mental agitation. I did not want to become the secretary of the A.I.C.C. as I wanted perfect freedom to say and do what I considered necessary. But Ansari pressed me on the ground that many of my resolutions and specially the Independence Resolution, had been passed by the Congress and I thus had full freedom to work on my own lines. I could not answer this

argument and had to accept. Now I find that every effort is being made to belittle and ridicule these very Congress resolutions and it is a painful experience.

Yours affectionately,
JAWAHARLAL

C.W.M.G. Vol. 35, P. 540-544

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 1, 1928

I am quite of your opinion that some day we shall have to start an intensive movement without the rich people and without the vocal educated class. But that time is not yet.

C.M.W.G. Vol. 36, P. 174

LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 19, 1928

I was disturbed about Kamala's health. Jawahar gave me bad news. And he told me that doctors thought that Indu also required attention. Doctors never scare me. But I should like to feel that there is nothing wrong with Kamala and certainly nothing wrong with Indu.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 36, P. 433

LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 15, 1928

I thoroughly agree that we should give place to younger men. And amongst them, there is no one even to equal Jawahar. I have therefore telegraphed to you saying that I am

recommending his name for adoption by provincial committees, unless I receive a wire from you to the contrary in reply to my wire.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 37, P. 64

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

November 17, 1928

MY DEAR JAWAHAR,

Your letter frees me from all anxiety.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 38, P. 61

*LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU**

WARDHA,

December 3, 1928

My love to you. It was all done bravely. You have braver things to do. May God spare you for many a long year to come and make you His Chosen instrument for freeing India from yoke.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 38, P. 150

The Lucknow police seem according to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to have even used brickbats in order to disperse an utterly innocent crowd. Granted that the processionists were defying orders supposed to be legal, the police, I hold, were not justified in charging the processionists unless injury on the part of the latter to person or property was imminent. I

* Explaining this in his book, Jawaharlal Nehru had written : "I think this letter was written soon after the incident at Lucknow when many of us demonstrated peacefully against the arrival of the Simon Commission there. We were severely beaten by the baton and lathi blows of the police."

rely implicitly on Pandit Jawaharlal's narrative. According to it the crowd was orderly and well behaved. It was not out to do any harm to anybody. Its motive was known to be a peaceful demonstration against the entry into Lucknow of a Commission that has been imposed upon the people against their will. The exercise by the police of punitive powers in such circumstances was arbitrary, uncalled for and brutal. The behaviour of the crowd in the face of this provocation and in the face of a cowardly assault upon their chosen leader Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his companions was amazingly exemplary. Their self-restraint was as great as their leaders'. I claim that no crowd outside India would have retained the calmness that the Lucknow crowd did.

Young India, 6.12.1928

Pandit Jawaharlal was safe as he has no secrets. If he finds any use for revolvers in his scheme for the freedom of the country, he will not need the offer from the outsider to lend him one. He will carry it himself openly and use it effectively when in his opinion the occasion has arrived. So he was safe from the blandishments of the C.I.D. And what applies to Pandit Jawaharlal applies in a measure to all Congressmen. For happily the Congress politics abhor secrecy. Congressmen have ceased to talk with closed doors; they have shed the fear of the C.I.D.

Young India, 13.12.1928

SPEECH ON RESOLUTION ON NEHRU REPORT, CALCUTTA CONGRESS—I

December 26, 1928

This Congress having considered the constitution recommended by the All-Parties Committee Report welcomes it as a great contribution towards the solution of India's political and communal problems and congratulates the Committee on the virtual unanimity of its recommendations.

C.M.W.G. Vol. 38, P. 267-268

SPEECH ON RESOLUTION ON NEHRU REPORT, CALCUTTA CONGRESS—III

December 31, 1928

If you all wish India to become free you should stop all this controversy about Dominion Status and Independence. You should remember swaraj is what we have outlined here [in this Report]. I have come all the way from Sabarmati Ashram to support the Nehru Committee's recommendation.

I do not believe in resorting to dirty manoeuvring to obtain a majority vote. It will only delay swaraj. If you want swaraj you must cleanse your mind of all such ideas by voting for this resolution.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 38, P. 307

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

ON THE TRAIN

July 29, 1929

Your letters to Indu are excellent and should be published. I wish you could have written them in Hindi. Even as it is there should be a simultaneous publication in Hindi.

Your treatment of the subject is quite orthodox. The origin of man is now a debatable subject. The origin of religion is a still more debatable matter. But these differences do not detract from the value of your letters. They have a value derived not from the truth of your conclusions but from the manner of treatment and from the fact that you have tried to reach Indu's heart and open the eyes of her understanding in the midst of your external activities.

I did not want to strive with Kamala over the watch I have taken away. I could not resist the love behind the gift. But the watch will still be kept as a trust for Indu. In the midst of so many little ruffians about me, I could not keep

such a piece of furniture. I would therefore be glad to know that Kamala will reconcile herself to Indu getting back her darling watch.

My article on the Congress crown is already written. It will be out in the next issue of *Young India*.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 41, P. 235

WHO SHOULD WEAR THE CROWN

The occupation of the Congress chair is becoming more and more onerous year after year. It is a serious question who should wear the crown for the next year. It is all thorns and no roses. I have noticed my name as one of the possibilities. When I first saw it amongst the nominees of some committee, I did not treat it seriously. But now I find friends speaking to me seriously and pressing me even to ask for the crown even if it is not offered to me. I need not discuss here the reasons advanced in favour of the proposal. I admit the weightiness of some of them. I have given them all the consideration I was capable of giving them, but I must own I have neither the courage nor the confidence in my ability to shoulder the burden. I feel that I have become almost unfit for attending to the details of office work which I must do, as is my nature, If I accepted the office. I know too that I am not keeping pace with the march of events. There is therefore a hiatus between the rising generation and me. I look a back number in their company. Not that I believe myself to be a back number. But when it comes to working in their midst, I know that I must take a back seat and allow the surging wave to pass over me. I have mentioned two decisive reasons for my reluctance to shoulder the burden. There are others which I do not put in the same category as these. But I hold these two as sufficient to eliminate me from the list of nominees.

In my opinion the crown must be worn by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. If I could have influenced the decision, he would have occupied the chair even for this year. But the

imperative demand of Bengal compelled the senior partner to capitulate.

Older men have had their innings. The battle of the future has to be fought by younger men and women. And it is but meet that they are led by one of themselves. Older men should yield with grace what will be taken from them by force if they do not read the signs of the times. Responsibility will mellow and sober the youth, and prepare them for the burden they must discharge. Pandit Jawaharlal has everything to recommend him. He has for years discharged with singular ability and devotion the office of secretary of the Congress. By his bravery, determination, application, integrity and grit he has captivated the imagination of the youth of the land. He has come in touch with labour and the peasantry. His close acquaintance with European politics is a great asset in enabling him to assess ours.

But say the older heads: "When we are likely to have to enter into delicate negotiations with various groups and parties outside the Congress, when we might even have to deal with British diplomacy, when we have yet the Hindu-Muslim knot to undo, we must have someone like you as the head." In so far as there is force in this argument, it is sufficiently answered by my drawing attention to the fact that whatever special qualities I may possess in the direction indicated, I shall be able to exercise more effectively by remaining detached from and untrammelled by, than by holding office. So long as I retain the affection and the confidence of our people, there is not the slightest danger of my not being able without holding office to make the fullest use of such powers as I may possess. God has enabled me to affect the life of the country since 1920 without the necessity of holding office. I am not aware that my capacity for service was a whit enhanced by my becoming President of the Congress at Belgaum.

And those who know the relations that subsist between Jawaharlal and me know that his being in the chair is as good as my being in it. We may have intellectual differences but our hearts are one. And with all his youthful impetuosities, his

sense of stern discipline and loyalty make him an inestimable comrade in whom one can put the most implicit faith.

“Will not Jawaharlal’s name be a red rag to the English bull?”- whispers another critic. We give English statesmen little credit for common sense and diplomatic skill and betray less faith in ourselves when we think like the imaginary critic. If a decision is really right for us, it ought to be right for the whole world. If in choosing our President we have to take into consideration what English statesmen will think of our choice, we show little courage of our convictions. Personally I have a higher estimate of English character than that assumed by the critic. The Englishman prizes honesty, bravery, grit and outspokenness all of which Jawaharlal has in abundance. Even if therefore British statesmen are to be considered in making our choice, Pandit Jawaharlal suffers from no disqualification.

Lastly, a President of the Congress is not an autocrat. He is a representative working under a well-defined constitution and well-known traditions. He can no more impose his views on the people than the English King. The Congress is a forty-five-year-old organization and has a status above its most distinguished Presidents. And it is the Congress as a whole with which, when the time is ripe, British statesmen will have to deal. They know this probably better than we do. All things considered therefore my advice to those concerned is to cease to think of me and to call Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to the high office with the fullest confidence and hope.

Young India, 1.8.1929

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

August 7, 1929

I do not like the title “Dawn of History”. “A father’s Letters to His Daughter” may be a better title than “Letter’s to Indira”, though I do not mind the latter.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 41, P. 256

TELEGRAM TO MOTILAL NEHRU

On or after August 20, 1929

BOTH WIRES RECEIVED. THANK GOD FOR KAMALA. REPLYING CONGRESS MESSAGE LAHORE SAID COULD NOT PRESIDE AS AM OUT OF TUNE MUCH GOING ON UNDER CONGRESS NAME. HAVE AGAIN RECOMMENDED JAWAHAR'S NAME* SEE NO USE MY PRESIDING.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 41, P. 305

YOUTH ON TRIAL

It was a great and a wise step the All-India Congress Committee took at Lucknow on 29th ultimo in electing Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the Congress helmsman for the coming year. No man however great, be he even a Mahatma, is indispensable for a nation conscious of itself and bent upon freedom. Even as the whole is always greater than its part, the Congress which claims to represent the nation is always greater than its greatest part. To be a living organization it must survive its most distinguished members. The All-India Congress Committee has by its decision demonstrated that it believes in the inherent vitality of the Congress.

Some fear in this transference of power from the old to the young, the doom of the Congress. I do not. The doom was to be feared from the sceptre being held by paralytic hands as mine are at present. I may take the reader into the secret that before recommending Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's name for the burden, I had ascertained from him whether he felt himself strong enough to bear the weight. "If it is thrust upon me, I hope I shall not wince," was the characteristic reply. In bravery he is not to be surpassed. Who can excel him in the love of the country? "He is rash and impetuous," say some. This quality is an additional qualification at the present

* A telegram from Jawaharlal Nehru dated August 21 read: "Beg of you not to press my name for presidentship."

moment. And if he has the dash and the rashness of a warrior, he has also the prudence of a statesman. A lover of discipline, he has shown himself to be capable of rigidly submitting to it even where it has seemed irksome. He is undoubtedly an extremist thinking far ahead of his surroundings. But he is humble and practical enough not to force the pace to the breaking point. He is pure as the crystal, he is truthful beyond suspicion. He is a knight *sans peur sans reproche*. The nation is safe in his hands.

But the youth are on their trial. This has been a year for the youth's awakening. Theirs undoubtedly was the largest contribution to the brilliant success of the Simon Commission boycott. They may take the election of Jawaharlal Nehru as a tribute to their service. But the youth may not rest on their laurels. They have to march many more stages before the nation comes to its own. Steam becomes a mighty power only when it allows itself to be imprisoned in a strong little reservoir and produces tremendous motion and carries huge weights by permitting itself a tiny and measured outlet. Even so have the youth of the country of their own free will to allow their inexhaustible energy to be imprisoned, controlled and set free in strictly measured and required quantities. This appointment of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the captain is proof of the trust the nation reposes in its youth. Jawaharlal alone can do little. The youth of the country must be his arms and his eyes. Let them prove worthy of the trust.

Young India, 3.10.1929

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

ALIGARH,

November 4, 1929

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I have just got your letter. How shall I console you? Hearing others describe your state, I said to myself, 'Have I been guilty of putting undue pressure on you?' I have always

believed you to be above undue pressure. I have always honoured your resistance. It has always been honourable. Acting under that belief I pressed my suit. Let this incident be a lesson. Resist me always when my suggestion does not appeal to your head or heart. I shall not love you the less for that resistance.

But why are you dejected? I hope there is no fear of public opinion in you. If you have done nothing wrong, why dejection? The ideal of independence is not in conflict with greater freedom. As an executive officer now and President for the coming year, you could not keep yourself away from a collective act of the majority of your colleagues. In my opinion your signature was logical, wise and otherwise correct. I hope therefore that you will get over your dejection and resume your unfailing cheerfulness.

The statement you may certainly make. But there is no hurry about it at all.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 42, P. 96

LETTER FROM JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE,
52 HEWETT ROAD, ALLAHABAD,

November 4, 1929

MY DEAR BAPUJI,

I have thought well for two days, I can take, I think, a calmer view of the situation than I could two days ago but the fever in my brain has not left me.

Your appeal to me on the ground of discipline could not be ignored by me. I am myself a believer in discipline. And yet I suppose there can be too much of discipline. Something seems to have snapped inside me evening before last and I am unable to piece it together. As General Secretary of the Congress I owe allegiance to it and must subject myself to its discipline. I have other capacities and other allegiances. I am

President of the Indian Trade Union Congress, Secretary of the Independence for India League and am intimately connected with the youth movement. What shall I do with the allegiance I owe to these and other movements I am connected with? I realize now more than I have ever done before that it is not possible to ride a number of horses at the same time. Indeed it is hard enough to ride one. In the conflict of responsibilities and allegiances what is one to do except to rely on one's own instincts and reason?

I have therefore considered the position apart from all outside connections and allegiances and the conviction has grown stronger that I acted wrongly day before yesterday. I shall not enter into the merits of the statement or the policy underlying it. I am afraid we differ fundamentally on that issue and I am not likely to convert you. I shall only say that I believe the statement to have been injurious and a wholly inadequate reply to the Labour Government's declaration. I believe that in our attempts to soothe and retain a few estimable gentlemen we have ruffled and practically turned out of our camp many others who were far more worth having. I believe that we have fallen into a dangerous trap out of which it will be no easy matter to escape. And I think that we have shown to the world that although we talk tall we are only bargaining for some tit bits.

I do not know what the British Government will do now. Probably it will not agree to your conditions. I hope they will not. But I have little doubt that most of the signatories—excluding you of course—will be quite prepared to agree to any modification of the conditions which the British Government might suggest. In any event it is quite clear to me that my position in the Congress will become daily more and more difficult. I accepted the presidency of the Congress with great misgivings but in the hope that we shall fight on a clear issue next year. That issue is already clouded and the only reason for my acceptance has gone. What am I to do with these "Leaders' Conferences"? I feel an interloper and am ill at ease. I cannot have my say because I am afraid of upsetting

the conference. I repress myself and sometimes the repression is too much for me and I break out and even say things which I do not wholly mean.

I feel I must resign from the Secretaryship of the A.I.C.C. I have sent a formal letter to Father, a copy of which I enclose.

The question of the presidentship is a far more difficult one. At this late hour I do not know what I can do. But I am convinced that I was a wrong choice. You are the only possible president for the occasion and the year. I cannot be president if the policy of the Congress is what might be described as that of Malaviyaji. Even now if you agree there is a possible course which does not necessitate a meeting of the A.I.C.C. A circular might be sent round to A.I.C.C. members saying that you are agreeable to accepting the presidentship. I would beg of them to excuse me. This would be a formal matter as of course all the members, or nearly all, would welcome your decision with joy.

An alternative course is that I should declare that in view of the circumstances, and also in view of the difficulty of choosing another president now, I shall not retire now but immediately after the Congress is over. I shall act as the chairman and the Congress can decide what it likes regardless of me.

One of these two courses seems to me to be necessary if I am to retain my physical and mental health.

As I wrote to you from Delhi I am not issuing any public statement. What others say or do not say does not worry me very much. But I must be at peace with myself.

Yours affectionately,
JAWAHARLAL

[PS.]

I am sending a copy of this letter to Father. I feel a little lighter after writing this letter. I am afraid it will trouble you

a little and I do not want to do so. I feel half inclined not to send it to you just yet but to wait for your arrival here. Ten days more will no doubt lessen my agitation and give me a better perspective. But it is better that you should know how my mind has been working.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 42, P. 515-517

TELEGRAM TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

MUTTRA,

November 6, 1929

DEEPLY APPRECIATE MORAL DIFFICULTY YOUR SECOND LETTER BUT THERE SHOULD BE NO HURRY ARRIVING AT DECISION. RESIGNATION MUST NOT BE PRESSED. IF STILL AGITATED MEET ME WHEREVER YOU LIKE.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 42, P. 101

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

BRINDABAN,

November 8, 1929

I have your letter.* You must have got my wire. You must not resign just now. I have not the time to argue out my point. All I know is that it will affect the national cause. There is no hurry and no principle at stake. About the crown, no one else can wear it. It never was to be a crown of roses. Let it be all thorns now. If I could have persuaded myself to wear it, I would have done so at Lucknow. The contingency I had in mind when I would be forced to wear it was not of this type. One of them was your arrest and increased repression. But let us reserve the whole of this for calm and detached discussion when we meet.

Meanwhile may God give you peace.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 42, P. 116

* See next letter.

SPEECH AT CONGRESS SESSION

LAHORE-II

December 31, 1929

I think even today I can control young people. Supposing today I am offered a horse to ride, I shall gladly accept it—I shall not ride the horse myself (Laughter) but I shall lead it; for holding the reins Jawaharlal Nehru is there. (Laughter) Today the reins of the nation are in the hands of the youth. It is up to them to strive unitedly for the independence of the country. Let them not say afterwards that the opportunity was not offered to them. It is being alleged that I think too much of Jawaharlal. I do not deny it.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 42, P. 352

THE CONGRESS

PRESIDENT

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru more than justified the choice of the people. His address brief and to the point was bold, extreme in conception but moderate in expression. It bore evidence of a man capable of viewing things with complete detachment. A confirmed socialist, he wants for his country only what the country can manage. He is a practical statesman tempering his ideals to suit his surroundings. But for himself he is an idealist who would ever strive to live up to his ideals.

As in his address, so in the chair. He was strong, yet accomodating. His wit came to his rescue on many an awkward occasion. He never hesitated when action was required. His tireless energy and entire self-forgetfulness, his natural simplicity and affability captivated everyone. No Government that is at all anxious to do what is right can have any reason to fear Jawaharlal Nehru. A wicked Government would soon feel the strength of a stalwart who counts no price too dear to pay for ridding the country of wicked rule.

The youth of the country has every reason to be proud of their representative, the nation may well rejoice to find in Jawaharlal Nehru such a noble and worthy son. May God's blessings descend upon him and may the nation reach her destination during Jawaharlal's year of service.

Young India, 9.1.1930

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

January 10, 1930

Here is my draft resolution or declaration for 26th instant. I have nothing as yet from anybody. But I thought I would not now wait till the last moment. You will cut it up or extend and amend it as you like. The shorter the sweeter.

I am most anxious to come to grips during your year of office, but that strictly according to my lights. Please therefore feel free to criticize whatever I say or suggest. I want to do nothing that would cross your purpose or thwart your plans, if you have conceived any independently. The more I think, the more convinced I feel that it was a happy thing for the country that I did not become President. I would have felt hampered in maturing plans in complete detachment. As it is, I cannot conceive a more favourable opportunity for me for making my experiment than when you are the helmsman of the Congress.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 42, P. 382-383

SPEECH AT GUJARAT VIDYAPITH CONVOCATION

January 11, 1930

We have a helmsman like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and I do not think we are ever going to have a better young man as our President. Would that we achieved our goal whilst he has the reins of our affairs in his hands.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 42, P. 388-389

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

March 19, 1930

You are in for a whole night's vigil but it is inevitable if you are to return before tomorrow night. The messenger will bring you where I may be. You are reaching me at the most trying stage in the march. You will have to cross a channel at about 2 a.m. on the shoulders of tried fishermen. I dare not interrupt the march even for the chief servant of the nation.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 43, P. 103

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

DELAD,

March 31, 1930

I have your letter. I have not wired, as I do not think there are any Pathans at Dandi and, if there are, we shall cope with them. The advent even of good and true friends from the Frontier will cause complications. I want to present at Dandi, if I am allowed to reach it, the one issue without any avoidable complications. Things seem to be shaping very well indeed in Gujarat.

I am surprised that they have already arrested so many in Rae Bareli. I feel you are right in confining your attention to the salt tax for the time being. We shall know during the next fortnight what more we can or should do.

Unless you hear from me to the contrary, please take 6th April as the date for simultaneous beginning.

It is now nearing 10 p.m., so good night.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 43, P. 160

TELEGRAM TO MOTILAL NEHRU

NAVSARI,

April 14, 1930

HAVE JUST HEARD JAWAHARLAL ARRESTED. I GREET YOU AND SARUPRANI AS HAPPY PARENTS. JAWAHARLAL HAS

EARNED THE CROWN OF THORNS WHO WILL OFFICIATE HIM ?

C.W.M.G. Vol. 43, P. 257

APPEAL TO THE YOUTH OF INDIA

April 14, 1930

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's arrest was what I was hourly expecting. It was impossible for the Government to ignore the young President and an ideal patriot. If I know the country, the response, if it was tenfold after the arrest of the other leaders, will be a hundredfold after this crowning act of the Government. This arrest should cost the Government its existence.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 43, P. 257

SPEECH AT UMBER

April 15, 1930

He was to all India what Sardar Vallabhbhai was to us in Gujarat. He was wearing himself out in the nation's service and has been punished because he was the greatest among us all.

The Bombay Chronicle, 16.4.1930

PRESIDENT IN PRISON-HOUSE

Pandit Jawaharlal is in jail. This means that the Government has thrown the whole of India into prison. If we understand this, then our duty becomes clear at once. If we wish to force the jail doors open we must do these things:

1. We should make salt everywhere and distribute it.
2. Women should picket liquor shops, that is, they should humbly plead with the sellers and consumers of liquor to desist from selling and drinking it.
3. Women should similarly dissuade those that sell and those that wear foreign cloth.

4. Spinning should be started in every home.
5. Students should leave schools and dedicate themselves to national work.
6. Lawyers should give up their practice and devote all their time to this national *yajna*.
7. Those in other occupations should also give for these activities as much time as they can.
8. People should leave Government jobs.
9. Under no circumstances should people become disorderly or commit violence.
10. They should not look down upon anyone. They should live at peace with all.

If we did this much our strength would certainly increase and no one would dare deflect us from our path.

Hindi Navajivan, 17.4.1930

INTERVIEW TO S. HASAN ALIKHAN

You know the welfare of the country depends on agriculture and the agriculturists form the great bulk of the country. In the course of the recent movement some of the young Congress workers have attempted to set the tenants against the landlords. Further, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in his presidential address at Lahore, explicitly expressed his views against the landlords of the country. May I know what the significance of that statement is? May I also know how Congress views the question concerning this important class of people?

Yes, I know that the country entirely depends on agriculture, which in turn depends on zamindars and tenants, the two chief factors of the country. No such instruction was sent by the Working Committee. We do not want that the tenants should stand against the zamindars. I was present at the Lahore Congress session. The late Pandit Motilal, myself and Pandit Jawaharlal drafted the resolution concerning the zamindars and ruling chiefs, which was only meant to establish

democracy. We never meant that there would be no room for the zamindars or for the so-termed relics of the past. As a matter of fact, we have every sympathy for the zamindars if they show a fair attitude towards the peasantry. We assure the zamindars that their rights will be given due consideration in a swaraj constitution. I appeal to them to be generous to the Congress.

The Pioneer, 16.3.1931

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

CAMP BORSAD

May 8, 1931

Of course you were quite right in writing to me on the Hindu-Muslim question as frankly as you have done. I should have felt hurt if you had done less. You have a perfect right to unburden yourself without the least fear of being misunderstood by me.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 46, P. 119

TALK WITH SEVA DAL WORKERS

BOMBAY,

August 9, 1931

I have that amazing faith in Jawahar. Fired with ample zeal he will do it. There may be self-deception in this belief of mine, but that self-deception will help the country.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 47, P. 276

TELEGRAM TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

GUJARAT VIDYAPITH

AHMEDABAD,

August 23, 1931

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

ANAND BHAWAN

ALLAHABAD

AM PROCEEDING SIMLA TONIGHT VALLABHBHAI

ACCOMPANYING. WE BOTH CONSIDER YOUR PRESENCE AND ABDUL GHAFAR KHAN'S NECESSARY, PLEASE START.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 47, P. 353

ALONE, YET NOT ALONE

August 28, 1931

Reynolds as well as other friends have wanted me to take Jawaharlal with me to London at least. He is fearless, yet gentle, being a stranger to weakness and weakening diffidence, detects weakness in a flash, having no diplomacy about him, hates diplomatic language and insists upon going straight to the point. And as I consider myself to be in advance of him in idealism, he returns the compliment by dismissing my claim. I honour him, and therefore share the wish, energetically expressed by so many friends, that Jawaharlal should be with me to keep me on the straight path and to serve as my dictionary of reference in case of doubt.

Something within me told me that I must not bear the burden of the Simla visits single-handed, but that as the Frontier Province and the United Provinces were storm centres and as Gujarat was the special care of Sardar Vallabhbhai, he, Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru should be by my side, and that I should take no decision without their full consent and approval, and so in my telegram to the Viceroy, I told him that these three would accompany me to Simla. As I had to pass through Delhi, I telegraphed to Dr. Ansari also, so that I could have half an hour with him. He was not in Delhi but in Mussoorie attending to a patient. My wire was repeated to him there, and he went down post-haste to Kalka to meet me since he could not catch me at Delhi, and so he too came along to Simla. And I can thankfully confess that the presence of each one of them was most valuable to me, and I can give out the secret, that but for their presence and especially of Jawaharlal's frank and insistent criticism, the Second Settlement, though identical in

substance, would have taken a form very different from that in which it finally emerged, and I must own that the form in which it has emerged is far superior to the one to which I alone, in my trustfulness even in official nature, would have subscribed.

Young India, 3.9.1931

*CABLE TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU**

After October 16, 1931

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
ALLAHABAD

YOUR CABLE. YOU SHOULD UNHESITATINGLY TAKE NECESSARY STEPS MEET EVERY SITUATION. EXPECT NOTHING HERE.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 48, P. 173

* This was in answer to a cable dated October 16 from the addressee, which read: "Agrarian situation becoming critical. Coercive possesses attachments forcible collection rent continued right through without interval. Many ejected tenants proceeded against for criminal trespass many for fear permanently losing land sold cattle, belongings, borrowed money paid full demand plus extras. Fresh demand now made for current season inadequate remissions threat that if full payment not made within month remission might be cancelled also no objection considered on behalf tenants till full payment made. Condition kisans deplorable thoroughly exhausted after past six months continuous harassment forcible measures. Apparently process likely be repeated this season also. Allahabad District Congress Committee resolved under circumstances ask permission start satyagraha if necessity arise by advising withholding payment rent application for permission made to Vallabhbhai and Provincial Committee. Representative District Kisan Conference being held next week to decide question. Decision likely have far-reaching consequences but question payment or withholding payment must be decided soon vital urgent problem for kisan no delay."

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

January 2, 1932

In all I am doing you are constantly before my mind's eye.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 48, P. 477

TELEGRAM TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

September 24, 1932

DURING ALL THESE DAYS OF AGONY YOU HAVE BEEN BEFORE MIND'S EYE. I AM MOST ANXIOUS TO KNOW YOUR OPINION.* YOU KNOW HOW I VALUE YOUR OPINION.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 51, P. 134

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

February 15, 1933

In the hope of giving you a good letter against your splendid letter† I have been postponing writing to you. But I can do so no longer.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 53, P. 309

* Jawaharlal Nehru in his telegram, received on September 26, said: "Your telegram and brief news that some settlement reached filled me relief joy. First news your decision fast caused mental agony confusion but ultimately optimism triumphed regained peace mind. No sacrifice too great for suppressed downtrodden classes. Freedom must be judged by freedom of lowest but feel danger other issued obscuring only goal. An unable judge from religious view-point. Danger your methods being exploited by others but how can I presume advise magician Love."

† See next Letter.

LETTER FROM JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

DEHRA DUN JAIL,

January 5, 1933

My Dear Bapu,

Your letter is always a tonic, and when it comes after a long interval, it brings a thrill with it and its effect is all the more exhilarating. I recognized Mahadev's handwriting on the envelope. Yours did not seem as of old. Perhaps your left hand was functioning and I am not so familiar with it.

I am following of course with great interest your campaign against untouchability, as far as I can from *The Statesman* and *The Pioneer*. Anything that you may do is bound to interest and fascinate. The subject itself has tremendous possibilities. Not being a man of religion, my interest is largely confined to the social aspect and to the wider issues involved.

Of course Sarup should do untouchability work if she feels like it. My suggestion about a short holiday in Ceylon was made chiefly in the interest of Krishna. I am little worried about her. After a year in prison, with our home practically broken up, she feels rather at a loose end and does not know what to do. Ever since her childhood the poor girl has been deprived of real home life and proper education because of our preoccupations and repeated visits to prison. She grew up a rather lonely girl not having as much friendship and sympathy as she was entitled to.

Father's death shook her up a great deal. I tried to soothe her and win her confidence and I am glad to say that I succeeded to some extent. But 1931 was for all of us a year full of work and worry and anxiety. Then came a long spell of prison for her, and for a young girl this was a far greater ordeal than it could be for most of us. As her release drew near I sensed how she must be feeling and how life in Anand Bhawan as it is today would be no joy to her. She would feel out of joint. She would want to do something and yet not

know what to do, and this would rob her of peace of mind. I was myself not clear what to suggest to her. Latterly she has begun to look upon me almost as a kind of refuge in a friendless world. If I had been out I might have been of help to her but I could do little from Dehra Dun Jail.

I felt that a short holiday in neutral surroundings would ease her mind and remove the tension. Hence my proposal about Ceylon. Three weeks in Ceylon would not have solved any problem but she would have freshened up and returned with a brighter outlook on life. These were my reasons. I was thinking more of mental health than of physical health. But the proposal seems to have fallen through as nobody seems to be keen on it. In the present, therefore, Ceylon is off.

Perhaps Krishna will go to Poona to see you and you might be able to advise her about her work. I might see her also. It is easy enough to suggest odd bits of work but this must appeal to the person concerned.

As for my interviews, it is now nearly seven months since I had one. I have missed them greatly but the U.P. Govt. had been very discourteous to Mother and Kamala and I felt that I had no alternative; besides I have not yet got rid of my obstinacy—a hereditary failing in me of which you cannot be unaware. The Government made some partial amends and the Home Member, the Nawab of Chhatari, came and expressed his concern. All this was more or less beside the point and the graceful thing and the right thing was not done, but then the right thing is seldom done. I wrote again to Government. Still I decided in my mind that should special necessity arise I would withdraw my prohibition and consent to an interview. So matters have stood for the last few weeks. I did not suggest an early interview as there was some talk of my transfer back to Naini Prison.

Now that you have also written about it, what can I do but immediately to capitulate to you? So henceforth, and unless something untoward intervenes, I shall take my usual interviews. Kamala may not be able to see me for several

weeks still. She [is] in Calcutta under Bidhan's treatment. But I shall see. Mother and Indu and Sarup and Krishna or such of them as can find me.

The stopping of interviews has made me retire a little more into myself. But I have had pleasing and a friendly neighbour—the Himalayas. The sight of their outline against the sky, and now their summits and sides covered with fresh snow, have meant a great deal to me. They seem to rouse in me ancient memories of the long ago when perhaps my ancestors wandered about the mountains of Kashmir and played in their snow and glaciers. I have had companions here but largely I have been left to myself, and I have grown a little contemplative, in defiance of heredity and family tradition and personal habit! But that is a thin vicer which I am afraid will run off at little provocation. How can the Ethiopian change his skin?

I have read a lot, and if wisdom could be had in books I would be wise. But wisdom eludes me, and big question-marks confront me wherever I look. Sometimes I think of Prince Siddhartha's old question and no answer comes:

How can it be that Brahma
Would make a world and keep it miserable,
Since, if all-powerful He leaves it so,
He is not good, and if not powerful,
He is not God?

From all accounts in the papers you are as ever the slave of industry and are over-working yourself even in prison. The new industrial system of the West is often criticized and blamed because it makes man a machine for ceaseless work and robs him of all leisure. You are supposed to be no lover of this system. And yet, you seem to personify to me often this very industrial system!

I am intrigued at your remark that eye-witnesses have told you that I am keeping fit. The information is correct but who could these eyewitnesses be who have managed to reach

you ? I have had no interviews for a long while and, except for a colleague who was discharged a month ago, I can think of no other likely recent eyewitness. It is true that I am poorer by four teeth. I have sacrificed them at the altar of modern science to appease the goddess of physical health.

This is a long letter for goal. But this I am writing to you after over a year and I have not seen you for over sixteen months. My last glimpse of you was when you were sailing away to the far West and your figure grew smaller and smaller as the ship bore you away and left us, feeling rather lonely and forlorn, on the pier.

With my love to all the happy family of yours in Yeravda.

Yours affectionately,
J.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 53, P. 504-506

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

September 23, 1933

Krishna will be happy enough in the new surroundings. What is more, she seems to have set her heart upon the match. She has been corresponding with Raja's mother. Rajababu is the pet name of her chosen one. There is no question of their leaving anything in Krishna's name. Of course I made it perfectly clear to them that the suggestion as to leaving something in Krishna's name was purely mine, and that even so, I had no intention of making it a condition of marriage. I made the proposal, I told them, because I believe in such arrangement for all girls wherever it was possible. If the match is to be finally fixed up, you have to write to Mrs. Hathisingh, Ahmedabad, making the proposal definitely and she will send you her acceptance. She is quite ready for the marriage to take place as early as Krishna wishes. She is desirous (and I concur) that the betrothal and marriage should take place simultaneously. You may now write to young Hathisingh and send for him when you like.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 56, P. 19-20

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

WARDHA

October 9, 1933

I got today the accompanying from Saraladevi. I have told her Indu is left free to do as she chooses and that she is not likely to entertain any marriage proposal as she is still studying. I have told her too that I am forwarding the letter to you. If Indu was at all prepared to consider a marriage proposal, I do regard Dipak to be a good match.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 56, P. 79

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, WARDHA,

October 16, 1933

Herewith the resignation of Jamnalalji. If you think that it must not be sent in and is likely to cause embarrassment, you need not take any action upon it. You may then return it with your reasons after you are free from the wedding arrangements. If, however, you think that the resignation may be accepted, you may publish it forthwith. I know that the Treasurer can only be appointed by the All-India Congress Committee. Therefore, the treasurership may remain in Jamnalalji's hands, for the time being. The chief thing is that he ceases to be a member of the Working Committee. I think that the step is a wise and necessary one. Constituted as he is, it is risky for him to seek imprisonment just now, that is, without taking the rest that the specialist considers necessary. But, ordinarily, fighters can't consult their health to the extent that Jamnalalji's temperament demands and as he shares the same view of a civil resister's duty that I have, he is ill at ease, so long as he holds a responsible office in the Congress organization.

I have given you my reasoning which decided my acceptance of Jamnalalji's proposal to resign.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 56, P. 101-102

LETTER TO G.D. BIRLA

October 18, 1933

I have read your article about Jawaharlal. It is good and you have done no harm by writing it. There could be no need to suppress our opinions about one another. When Truth alone is to be sought, suppression of one's opinion becomes a fault. You must have sent the article to Jawaharlal, if not, do so. He is a very straightforward man and corrects his error. I am confident ultimately he is bound to follow the path and Truth. And if his line of thinking proves to be correct, comments would be superfluous. Equality can never mean uniformity. Equality only means uniformity in justice. There is no distinction between an atom and the Himalayas in the eyes of God. He is the same to the atom as to the Himalayas.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 56, P. 103-104

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

November 1, 1933

Nariman was here yesterday. I have advised him to see you and told him that you were my political chief. What else could I do? I stand thoroughly discredited as a religious maniac and predominantly a social worker.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 56, P. 167

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

CHANDA,

November 13, 1933

As to the Harijan tour, I am not worrying at all over the proposed boycott in U.P. I am finding no difficulty here. Congressmen and non-Congressmen are co-operating in arranging for the tour. You are unnecessarily hard on the liberals whom I would include among non-congressmen. We have to get work even from them. They work according to

their lights. In any case, I do not want a single Congressman to work for this movement who would go to jail. I have said this to everyone who has come to me. I am sending back some of the best workers who have just come out. Ba I hope is going soon and so is Manibehn Patel. Kakasaheb, Swami, Surendra are going. Those Congressmen who are too weak to go or who have lost faith in civil disobedience and who are anxious to work for the Harijan cause I am taking, but not those who want Harijan work as a mere cloak. This movement, if it is to become universal, must be able to continue even if every Congressman is in jail or it must perish. I feel too that Congressmen should not handle this movement to strengthen the C.D. movement or the Congress hold on the people. It would be going about it the wrong way. Such an attitude will damage both the Congress and the Harijan cause. Cases of this type have come under my notice. I have expressed strong disapproval of any such work. I think I have now sufficiently answered all your questions. If no, please ask again.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 56, P. 221

INTERVIEW TO MADRAS MAIL

December 22, 1933

Q. Will not the Pandit's well-known communist leaning mean that Congress policy will be given a communist bias under his guidance ?

Ans. No. I do not think so. Jawaharlal is too honest a man for that. I do not think he will depart from the fundamental Congress policy without giving ample notice to his colleagues. I do not think that Jawaharlal's own views are yet sufficiently crystalized to make any fundamental departure from Congress policy likely. He is a firm believer in socialism, but his ideas on how best the socialist principle can be applied to Indian conditions are still in the melting pot. His communist views need not, therefore, frighten anyone.

Q. Conversation then turned on communist opposition to large estates, which, apparently, Jawaharlal shares ?

Ans. I do not think that the land should be parcelled out. It would be a serious loss if the influence of the big hereditary landholder were wholly destroyed. I do think, however, that the actual cultivator should have a title in the soil, and a larger share of its produce. At present, in many places, he gets far too little. He should get a fair share and not a bare maintenance.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 56, P. 382-383

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

December 26, 1933

Here is a cutting from the *M. Mail*. Though the whole conversation practically referred to you and your views, naturally the interviewer could not reproduce it all. I was shown the proof. It is a fair presentation of the substance of what I said. Please read it carefully and correct me where you find me to have erred about yourself. There is a great deal of misunderstanding about you in our circles too. But it does not worry me.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 56, P. 404

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

THE CAPE

January 21, 1934

I had no desire to apologize for you. The interview represents the interviewer's impressions. But there is no apology there. I have given my full interpretation of your mind and actions. I do feel that your concrete programme is still in the melting pot. You are too honest to say: "I know the whole of my programme today." You have no uncertainty about the science of socialism but you do not know in full how you will apply it when you have the power.

You have unnecessarily raised the question of your place in the Congress. So far as I am concerned, you do not disturb

me at all. I should be myself in a wilderness without you in the Congress.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 57, P. 30

*INTERVIEW TO THE HINDUSTAN TIMES**

May 21, 1934

Q. How do you look upon the emergence of the Socialist group within the Congress? Have you any message in this connection?

Ans. I welcome the emergence. And if it acts, as I am sure it will act, with due restraint and in keeping with the special conditions of the country, it can only do good. I understand that it is pledged to non-violent methods to the exclusion of violent methods.

Q. How do you expect Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai and Abdul Ghaffar Khan to view your advice to the country?

* This was in answer to a cable dated October 16 from the addressee, which read: "Agrarian situation becoming critical. Coercive possesses attachments forcible collection rent continued right through without interval. Many ejected tenants proceeded against for criminal trespass many for fear permanently losing land sold cattle, belongings, borrowed money paid full demand plus extras. Fresh demand now made for current season inadequate remissions threat that if full payment not made within month remission might be cancelled also no objection considered on behalf tenants till full payment made. Condition kisans deplorable thoroughly exhausted after past six months continuous harassment forcible measures. Apparently process likely be repeated this season also. Allahabad District Congress Committee resolved under circumstances ask permission start satyagraha if necessity arise by advising withholding payment rent application for permission made to Vallabhbhai and Provincial Committee. Representative District Kisan Conference being held next week to decide question. Decision likely have far-reaching consequences but question payment or withholding payment must be decided soon vital urgent problem for kisan to delay."

Ans. I have no doubt that, if they had been out they would have acted precisely as I have.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 58, P. 14

Once you turn a new leaf in the relations between zamindars and ryots, you will find us on your side jealously guarding your private rights and property. When I say "us", I have Pandit Jawaharlal also in mind, for I am sure that on this essential principle of non-violence there is no difference between us. He does indeed talk of nationalisation of property, but it need not frighten you.

The Pioneer, 3.8.1934

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

August 17, 1934

Your passionate and touching letter* deserves a much longer reply than my strength will permit.

I understand your deep sorrow. You are quite right in giving full and free expression to your feelings. But I am quite sure that from our common standpoint a closer study of the written word will show you that there is not enough reason for all the grief and disappointment you have felt. Let me assure you that you have not lost a comrade in me. I am the same as you knew me in 1917 and after. I have the same passion that you knew me to possess for the common goal. I want complete independence for the country in the full-English sense of the term. And every resolution that has pained you had been framed with that end in view. I must take full responsibility for the resolutions and the whole conception surrounding them.

But I fancy that I have the knack for knowing the need of the time. And the resolutions are a response thereto. Of

* See next letter.

course here comes in the difference of our emphasis on the method or the means which to me are just as important as the goal and in a sense more important in that we have some control over them whereas we have none over the goal if we loose control over the means.

Do read the resolution about 'loose talk' dispassionately. There is not a word in it about socialism. Greatest consideration has been paid to the socialists some of whom I know so intimately. Do I not know their sacrifice? But I have found them as a body to be in a hurry. Why should they not be? Only, If I cannot march quite as quick, I must ask them to halt and take me along with them. That is literally my attitude. I have looked up the dictionary meaning of socialism. It takes me no further than where I was before I read the definition. What will you have me to read to know its full content? I have read one of the books Masani gave me and now I am devoting all my spare time to reading the book recommended by Narendra Deva.

You are hard on the members of the Working Committee. They are our colleagues such as they are. After all we are a free institution. They must be displaced, if they do not deserve confidence. But it is wrong to blame them for their inability to undergo the sufferings that some others have gone through.

After the explosion I want construction. Therefore now, lest we do not meet, tell me exactly what you will have me to do and who you think will best represent your views.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 58, P. 317-319

LETTER FROM JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

ANAND BHAWAN, ALLAHABAD

August 13, 1934

MY DEAR BAPU,

After just six months of absolute seclusion and little exercise I have felt rather lost in the anxiety, excitement and

activity of the past 27 hours. I feel very tired. I am writing this letter to you at midnight. All day there have been crowds of people coming. If I have the chance I shall write to you again, but I doubt if I shall be able to do so for some months. I am, therefore, going to indicate to you briefly how I have reacted to the various major congress decisions of the last five months or so. My sources of information have naturally been strictly limited but I think that they were sufficient to enable me to form a fairly correct idea of the general trend of events.

When I heard that you had called off the C.D. movement I felt unhappy. Only the brief announcement reached me at first. Much later I read your statement and this gave me one of the biggest shocks I have ever had. I was prepared to reconcile myself to the withdrawal of C.D. But the reasons you gave for doing so and the suggestions you made for future work astounded me. I had a sudden and intense feeling, that something broke inside me, a bond that I have valued very greatly had snapped. I felt terribly lonely in this wide world. I have always felt a little lonely almost from childhood up. But a few bonds strengthened me, a few strong supports held me up. That loneliness never went, but it was lessened. But now I felt absolutely alone, left high and dry on a desert island.

Human beings have an enormous capacity for adapting themselves and so I too adapted myself to some extent to the new conditions. The keenness of my feelings on the subject, which amounted almost to physical pain, passed off; the edge was dulled, but shock after shock, a succession of events sharpened that edge to a fine point, and allowed my mind or feelings no peace or rest. Again I felt that sensation of spiritual isolation, of being a perfect stranger out of harmony, not only with the crowds that passed me, but also with those whom I had valued as dear and close comrades. My stay in prison this time became a greater ordeal for my nerves than any previous visit had been. I almost wished that all newspapers might be kept away from me so that I might be spared these repeated shocks.

Physically I kept fairly well. I always do in prison. My body has served me well and can stand a great deal of ill-treatment and strain. And being vain enough to imagine that perhaps I might yet do some effective work in this land to which fate had tied me, I looked after it well.

But I wondered often enough if I was not a square peg in a round hole, or a bubble of conceit thrown about hither and thither on an ocean which spurned me. But vanity and conceit triumphed and the intellectual apparatus that functions within me refused to admit defeat. If the ideals that had spurred me to action and had kept me buoyed up through stormy weather were right—and the conviction of their rightness ever grew within me—they were bound to triumph though my generation might not live to witness that triumph.

But what had happened to those ideals during these long and weary months of this year when I was a silent and distant witness, fretting at my helplessness? Setbacks and temporary defeats are common enough in all great struggles, they grieve but one recovers soon enough. One recovers soon if the light of those ideals is not allowed to grow dim and the anchor of principles holds fast. But what I saw was not setback and defeat but that Spiritual defeat which is the most terrible of all. Do not imagine that I am referring to the council-entry question. I do not attach vital importance to it. Under certain circumstances I can even imagine entering a legislature myself. But whether I function inside or outside the legislature I function as a revolutionary, meaning thereby a person working for the fundamental and revolutionary changes, political and social, for I am convinced that no other changes can bring peace or satisfaction to India and the world.

So I thought. Not so evidently the leaders who were functioning outside. They began to talk the language of an age gone by before the heady wine of N.C.O. and C.D. had fired our heads. Sometimes they used the same words and phrases but they were dead words without life or real meaning. The leading figures of the congress suddenly became those people

who had obstructed us, held us back, kept aloof from the struggle and even co-operated with the opposite party in the time of our direct need. They became the high priests in our temple of freedom and many a brave soldier who had shouldered the burden in the heat and dust of the fray was not even allowed inside the temple precincts. He and many like him had become untouchables and unapproachables. And if he ventured to raise his voice and criticize the new high priests, he was shouted down and told that he was traitor to the cause because he spoilt the harmony of the sacred precincts.

And so the flag of Indian freedom was entrusted with all pomp and circumstance to those who had actually hauled it down at the height of our national struggle at the bidding of the enemy; to those who had proclaimed from the house-tops that they had given up politics—for politics were unsafe then—but who emerged with a jump to the front ranks when politics became safe.

And what of the ideals they set forth before them, speaking as they did on behalf of the Congress and the nation? A pitiful hotchpotch, avoiding real issues, toning down, as far as they dared, even the political objective of the Congress, expressing a tender solicitude for every vested interest, bowing down to many a declared enemy of freedom, but showing great truculence and courage in facing the advanced and fighting elements in the Congress ranks. Is not the Congress being rapidly reduced to a magnified edition of that shameful spectacle, the Calcutta corporation during the last few years? Might not the dominant part of the Bengal Congress be called today “the society for the advancement of Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sirkar”, a gentleman who rejoiced to entertain Government officials, Home Members and the like, when most of us were in prison and C.D. was supposed to be flourishing? And the other part probably a similar society for a similar laudable object? But the fault does not lie with Bengal alone. Almost everywhere there is a similar outlook. The Congress from top to bottom is a caucus and opportunism triumphs.

The Working Committee is not directly responsible for this state of affairs. But none the less the Working committee must shoulder the responsibility. It is the leaders and their policy that shape the activities of the followers. It is neither fair nor just to throw blame on the followers. Every language has some saying about the workman blaming his tools. The committee had deliberately encouraged vagueness in the definition of our ideals and objectives and this is bound to lead not only to confusion but to demoralization during periods of reaction, and to the emergence of the demagogue and the reactionary.

I am referring especially to the political objectives which are the special province of the Congress. I feel that the time is overdue for the Congress to think clearly on social and economic issues but I recognize that education on these issues takes time and the Congress as whole may not be able to go as far at present as I would like it to. But it appears that whether the Working Committee knows anything about the subject or not it is perfectly willing to denounce and to excommunicate people who happen to have made a special study of the subject and hold certain views. No attempt is made to understand those views, which, it is notorious, are held by a very large number of the ablest and most self-sacrificing people in the world. Those views may be right or wrong but they deserve at least some understanding before the Working Committee sets out to denounce them. It is hardly becoming for a reasoned argument to be answered by sentimental appeals or by the cheap remark that the condition in India are different and the economic laws that apply elsewhere do not function here. The resolution of the Working committee on the subject showed such an astounding ignorance of the elements of socialism that it was painful to read it and to realize that it might be read outside India. It seemed that the overmastering desire of the Committee was somehow to assure various vested interests even at the risk of talking nonsense.

A strange way of dealing with the subject of socialism is to use the word, which has a clearly defined meaning in the English language, in a totally different sense. For individuals to use words in a sense peculiar to themselves is not helpful in the commerce of ideas. A person who declares himself to be an engine-driver and then adds that his engine is of wood and is drawn by bullocks is misusing the word engine-driver.

This letter has become a much longer one than I expected and the night is already far spent. Probably I have written in a confused and scrappy way for my brain is tired. But still it will convey some picture of my mind. The last few months have been very painful ones for me and, I take it, for many others. I have felt sometimes that in the modern world, and perhaps in the ancient world also, it is oft preferred to break some people's hearts rather than touch other's pockets. Pockets are indeed more valuable and more cherished than hearts and brains and bodies and human justice and dignity.

Perhaps some parts of this letter might pain you. But you would not have me hide my heart from you.

Yours affectionately

Jawahar

C.W.M.G. Vol. 58, P. 460-464

LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

Before 5 September, 1934

After much deliberation and discussions with friends who have been to Wardha recently, I have come to the conclusion that the best interest of the Congress and the nation will be served by my completely severing all official or physical connection with the Congress, including the original membership. This does not mean that I cease to take any interest in an organization with which I have been intimately connected since 1920 and which I have worshipped since my youth. In spite of all I have recently said about the corruption that has crept into the organization, it still remains, in my

opinion, the most powerful and the most representative national organization in the country. It has a history of uninterrupted noble service and sacrifice from its inception. Its progress has been unbroken and steady. It has weathered storms as no other institution in the country has. It has commanded the largest measure of sacrifice of which any country would be proud. It has today the largest number of self-sacrificing men and women of unimpeachable character.

It is not with a light heart that I leave this great organization. But I feel that my remaining in it any longer is likely to do more harm than good. I miss at this juncture the association and advice of Jawaharlal who is bound to be the rightful helmsman of the organization in the near future. I have, therefore, kept before me his great spirit. And I feel that whilst his great affection for me would want to keep me in the Congress, his reason would endorse the step I have taken. And since a great organization cannot be governed by affections but by cold reason, it is better for me to retire from a field where by presence results in arresting full play of reason. Hence in leaving the organization I feel that I am in no sense deserting one who is much more than a comrade and whom no amount of political differences will ever separate from me.

Then there is the growing group of socialists. Jawaharlal is their undisputed leader. I know pretty well what he wants and stands for. He claims to examine everything in a scientific spirit. He is courage personified. He has many years of service in front of him. He has an indomitable faith in his mission. The socialist group represents his views more or less, though probably their mode of execution is not exactly his. That group is bound to grow in influence and importance. I have welcomed the group. Many of them are respected and self-sacrificing co-workers. With all this, I have fundamental differences with them on the programme published in their authorized pamphlets. But I would not, by reason of the moral pressure I may be able to exert, suppress the spread of the ideas propounded in their literature. My remaining in the Congress would amount to the exercise of such pressure. I

may not interfere with free expression of those ideas, however distasteful some of them may be to me...

For me to dominate the Congress in spite of these fundamental differences is almost a species of violence which I must refrain from. Their reason must be set free at any cost. Having discovered this undisputable fact, I would be disloyal to the Congress if, even at the risk of losing all my reputation, I did not leave the Congress.

But there is no danger to my reputation or that of the Congress, if I leave only to serve it better in thought word and deed. I do not leave in anger or in a huff, nor yet in disappointment. I have no disappointment in me. I see before me a bright future for the country. Everything will go well, if we are true to ourselves. I have no other programme before me save the Congress programme now before the country...

In this and various other ways I would love to serve the Congress in my own humble manner. Thus living in complete detachment, I hope, I shall come closer to the Congress. Congressmen will then accept my services without being embarrassed or oppressed.

One word to those who have given me their wholehearted devotion in thought, word and deed in the pursuit of the common goal. My physical withdrawal from the Congress is not to be understood to mean an invitation to them to withdraw. They will remain in the Congress fold so long as the Congress needs them and work out such common ideals as they have assimilated.

Yours
BAPU

C.W.M.G. Vol. 58, P. 403-406

LETTER TO HORACE G. ALEXANDER

September 27, 1934

You will be surprised to know that long before I received your letter I had expressed the opinion that Jawaharlal could

present the Indian case more convincingly than I before English audiences.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 59 P. 81

LETTER TO KAMALA NEHRU

October 4, 1934

CHI. KAMALA,

You must have received the letter I wrote to you. I do wish to come to you but also realize that it would not be right. From somewhere or other I manage to get news of you. And Feroz sends a daily postcard since Prabhavati came away. Keep up your spirits. You should not worry on account of Jawaharlal's absence from your side. It is good that Indu has arrived. Tell her to write to me. Recite Ramanama.

Blessings from

BAPU

C.W.M.G. Vol. 59, P. 121

LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

April 5, 1935

Your real leader is Jawahar. We others can stand before you only as trustees for him. Let that be the warp of your speech, and the woof can be as you like.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 60, P. 389

LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

WARDHA

July 18, 1935

Yes, Jawaharlal's discharge will be an important event. The Socialist creed would be most attractive, if the sting of compulsion was out.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 61, P. 260

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

WARDHA,
September 4, 1935

I wish I had come myself but I must not. You will frankly give me your opinion on all the things of common interest. Unless there is an insuperable bar you should take charge of the Congress ship next year.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 61, P. 385

LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON

WARDHA,
September 20, 1935

Your work in connection with Jawaharlal's release was prompt and glorious. As you very properly say, it was more humanitarian than political. I am glad, too, that the authorities rose to the occasion and lost not a minute in granting adequate relief. At this end, too, our machinery was set in motion. The whole thing ended so well. This release of Jawaharlal stands out prominently as the one bright spot on the black and mournful surface. I know you do not want thanks. You may have them by the train-load if you want them.

There can be no doubt that, if we really ever succeed in disturbing God's plans and if God has any plans, these efforts resulting in Jawaharlal's reaching there have prolonged Kamala's life. I am old fashioned enough to believe that not a blade of grass moves but by His will. Then, too, I can derive ample satisfaction in the knowledge that you and other friends conspired to fulfil God's purpose and therefore whilst you were doing your duty angels above were saying, 'well done, well done.'

C.W.M.G. Vol. 61, P. 429-430

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

WARDHA,

September 22, 1935

In the huge organization the Congress has become, no one man can hope to run the show. But someone has to shoulder the burden. And people want some guidance. Hence my inquiry. If you are elected, you will be elected for the policy and principles you stand for. I would like you therefore to tell me whether you will allow your name to be proposed for the crown of thorns.

I am sending the Congress Constitution. If you can concentrate your attention on it, I would like you to send me your considered criticism on it.

As to the present policy of the Congress, whilst I can in no way be responsible for the detailed working of it, it is in the main of my shaping. It is not one of drift. It is founded upon one central idea—that of consolidating the power of the people with a view to peaceful action. But in your absence, we have been literally trekking. Now that you are free you have to give the guidance and take with you such of your old colleagues as would go with you wholeheartedly. So far as I know they will not resist you, even where they may not be able to follow you. I must not weary you with more of this kind of thing whilst you are there nursing-Kamala.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 61, P. 438-439

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

October 3, 1935

Your letters come in with clock-like regularity and they are such a blessing.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 62, P. 6

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

WARDHA,
October 17, 1935

As to our attitude on the present world situation, I do not think there is want of appreciation of it. But it is our helplessness which imposes silence on us. There is no weakness either. It is merely a matter, if you will of tactics in the best sense of the term. Anyway I have no sense in me of weakness. But I know that I cannot speak with effect at this juncture. I cannot give the lead without knowing what the people can do. I know what they should do. And what is true of me is perhaps equally true of the majority of our workers. But I have great faith in you in these matters. You have undoubtedly a much greater grasp of the situation than any one of us has, certainly than I can ever hope to have. Therefore you may be able to evolve a dignified formula for national self-expression in speech as well as in action—assuming of course that at the present moment direct action is ruled out.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 62, P. 39-40

LETTER TO SWARUPRANI NEHRU

November 28, 1935

Jawaharlal will never have any respite from work. Did he have rest even in jail ? He wrote a book there and now that he is out he writes letters which read like books.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 62, P. 143

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

DELHI,
March 9, 1936

So you return leaving Kamala for ever in Europe. And yet her spirit was never out of India and will always be your precious treasure as it will be of many of us. I shall never forget the final talk that wetted our four eyes.

Heavy responsibility awaits you here. It is laid on you because you are well able to bear it.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 62, P. 251

LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON

WARDHA,

April 30, 1936

I have your letter of 17th instant. Nothing less was to be expected of Jawaharlal. His address is a confession of his faith. You see from the formation of his cabinet that he has chosen a majority of those who represent the traditional view, i.e., from 1920. Of course the majority represent my view. I would love to kill the New Constitution today if I can. There is hardly anything in it I like. But Jawaharlal's way is not my way. I accept his ideal about land, etc. But I do not accept practically any of his methods. I would strain every nerve to prevent a class war. So would he, I expect. But he does not believe it to be possible to avoid it. I believe it to be perfectly possible especially if my method is accepted. But though Jawaharlal is extreme in his presentation of his methods, he is sober in action. So far as I know him, he will not precipitate a conflict nor will he shirk it if it is forced on him. But there perhaps the whole Congress is not of one mind. A difference there certainly is. My method is designed to avoid conflict. His is not so designed. My own feeling is that Jawaharlal will accept the decisions of the majority of his colleagues. For a man of his temperament, this is most difficult. He is finding it so already. Whatever he does he will do it nobly. Though the gulf between us as to the outlook upon life has undoubtedly widened, we have never been so near each other in hearts as we perhaps are today.

This is not for public use but you are at liberty to show it to friends.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 62, P. 353-354

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

NANDI HILL,
May 12, 1936

The reason why I sent you my reply to Agatha was to know whether I had correctly represented your attitude.

But I am glad you have gone for me instead. I am not guilty of 'supporting a system which involves a continuous and devastating class war' or expressing approval of systems based essentially on *himsa* or 'of criticizing and condemning people for more or less minor faults and praising others who are guilty of far-more important failings.'

It is possible that I am unconsciously guilty of the things you seem to impute to me. If so, you should give me concrete instances. I have already admitted that my method of dealing with things is different from yours as I see it. But there is no difference whatsoever about looking at the existing system.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 62, P. 392

A FALSE ALARM

When I saw a newspaper report purporting to be a summary of what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had said on khadi during his recent visit to the Khadi Bhandar at Bombay, I refused to believe it. It seemed to me to be so thoroughly contrary to what I had understood to be his considered view about khadi. I, therefore, sent the cutting to the Pandit, and the following is the reply he promptly sent me:

I attended and spoke at several dozen meetings in Bombay—I have lost count of them—and had no time to see reports. I spoke in Hindustani of course, and reporting was no easy matter—and then condensed reports are apt to be misleading. The report of what I said on khadi, however, was pointed out to me and was corrected the same day or the next day. What I had said was that for many reasons—economic, political, social—khadi was an important item in our present programme and must be encouraged, but that I did not think that it could finally solve our poverty problem, especially if the present

social system continued. This system transferred the improvements and additional earnings of the peasant to the landlord. But I pointed out that this theoretical argument did not apply today. For this I said that although I was in favour of big industry, I believed that even with the increase of industrialization there would be considerable room for the development of cottage industries in India. At present, of course, they were even more important from various points of view.

From the letters I have received I see that the report created great uneasiness among some khadi workers. To them I should like to give a warning. It is fortunate that, for all practical purposes, what Pandit Jawaharlal actually says is satisfactory. He is too noble to say anything to please anybody if he does not believe in it. The quotation from his letter, therefore, derives added weight from the fact that the helmsman of the Congress holds views favourable to khadi.

Harijan, 6.6.1936

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SEGAON,

July 15, 1936

Your letter is touching. You feel to be the most injured party. The fact is that your colleagues have lacked your courage and frankness. The result has been disastrous. I have always pleaded with them to speak out to you freely and fearlessly. But having lacked the courage, whenever they have spoken they have done it clumsily and you have felt irritated. I tell you they have dreaded you, because of your irritability and impatience of them. They have chafed under your rebukes and magisterial manner and above all your arrogation of what has appeared to them your infallibility and superior knowledge. They feel that you have treated them with scant courtesy and never defended them from socialists ridicule and even misrepresentation.

You complain of their having called your activities

harmful. That was not to say that you were harmful. Their letter was no occasion for recounting your virtues or your services. They were fully conscious of your dynamism and your hold over the masses and the youth of the country. They know that you cannot be dispensed with. And so they wanted to give way.

I look upon the whole affair as a tragi-comedy. I would therefore like you to look at the whole thing in a lighter vein. I do not mind your taking the A.I.C.C. into your confidence. But I do want you not to impose on it the unbearable task of adjusting your family quarrels or choosing between them and you. Whatever you do you must face them with accomplished things.

Why do you resent their majority being reflected in all sub-committees, etc. ? Is it not the most natural thing ? You are in office by their unanimous choice but you are not in power yet. To put you in office was an attempt to find you in power, quicker than you would otherwise have been. Anyway That was at the back of my mind when I suggested your name for the crown of thorns. Keep it on though the head be bruised. Resume your humour at the committee meetings. That is your most usual role, not that of a care-worn irritable man ready to burst on the slightest occasion.

How I wish you would telegraph to me that on finishing my letter you felt as merry as you were on that New Year's Day in Lahore when you were reported to have danced round the tricolour flag.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 63, P. 144-145

INTERVIEW TO PAULA LECLER AND Y. S. CHEN

Before August 8, 1936

Q. What is your feeling about Nehru ?

Ans. My feeling about Nehru is nothing but that of love and admiration. We are not estranged from each other. I hear

from him nearly twice a week. There are things on which I do not talk the same way. There are obvious differences in outlook, but in spite of them our affection has not diminished. And these differences are not new. He has never kept from me whatever he has felt from time to time. Even what he said in Lucknow was not new. It was a summary of views he had stated in different places on different occasions.

Q. But you don't see the truth entirely his way?

Ans. I don't. But it is one thing to say that I do not sympathize with some of his views and quite another to say that he had ruined my life-work ! It is a lie. There is no other name for it. I have never had even the suspicion that Jawaharlal's policy has ruined any part of my work.

Q. Because the truth you stand for is still there?

Ans. That is truism. I am not talking from that higher philosophical point of view. I am just talking in mundane terms. I want to say that he has taken no such steps as would ruin my programme or my work. If he had said: 'You have blundered all along. You must retrace your steps. You have taken the country back a century,' as some have certainly said, he, because he is he, would embarrass me. But he has said nothing of the kind. Also, it is not wholly true to say that I do not sympathize with his programme. What is he doing today with which I cannot sympathize? His enunciation of scientific socialism does not jar on me. I have been living the life since 1906 that he would have all India to live. To say that he favours Russian communism is a travesty of truth. He says it is good for Russia, but he does not give an unequivocal certificate to it even about Russia. As for India, he has said plainly that the methods to be adopted in India would have to answer India's needs. He does not say that there must be class war, though he thinks it may be inevitable; and only recently he declared emphatically that there should be no confiscation without compensation. There is nothing in all this which I oppose. Nevertheless there are differences of

method; but to say that they make us opponents or rivals is a caricature.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 63, P. 206-208

ARE WE RIVALS

I have had two typical cuttings sent to me giving altogether false news about relations between Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and myself. Remarks said to have been made by me have been reproduced in quotation marks. Thus I am reported to have said, "My life-work is ruined" (i.e., by Jawaharlal's programme); "not even the firmness and repression of the British Government have harmed my work as much as the policy outlined by Nehru."

I have never said anything of the kind nor uttered one single remark attributed to me in the two articles sent to me. What is more, I have not even entertained the opinions contained in them. So far as I am aware, Jawaharlal has come to the conclusion that India's freedom cannot be gained by violent means and that it can be gained by non-violent means. And I know for a fact that he did not in Lucknow "come out for the use of violence in the struggle for Independence."

No doubt there are differences of opinion between us. They were clearly set forth in the letters we exchanged some years ago, and in reply to correspondents I hope at an early date to bring our differences up to date. But they do not affect our personal relations in any way whatsoever. We remain the same adherents to the Congress goal that we have ever been. My life-work is not, cannot be, ruined by Jawaharlal's programme, nor have I ever believed for that matter that it has been harmed even by "the firmness and repression of the British Government." My philosophy, if I can be said to have any, excludes the possibility of harm to one's cause by outside agencies. The harm comes deservedly and only when the cause itself is bad, or being good its champions are untrue, fainthearted, or unclean. The article in question refers to

“Gandhiji’s secret plans”. If I know Gandhi at all I can vouch safe for it that he never had any secret plans in his life. And if beyond what the readers of Harijan know there is no plan that I can disclose, it is because I know none myself. Then one of the articles presents Jawaharlal and me as rivals. I cannot think of myself as a rival to Jawaharlal or him to me. Or if we are, we are rivals in making love to each other in the pursuit of the common goal, and if in the joint work for reaching the goal we at times seem to be taking different routes, I hope the world will find that we had lost sight of each other only for the moment and only to meet again with greater mutual attraction and affection.

Harijan, 25.7.1936

SPEECH AT GANDHI SEVA SANGH MEETING, HUDLI-I

April 16, 1937

When I arrived in the morning, someone remarked that if the Faizpur Congress was Jawaharlal’s the Hudli Congress was going to be Gandhi’s. It was conveyed to me by the President or someone else. I know it was said in jest. But it pained me that such a thing should be said even in jest. It is a sin to imagine even in jest that there can be any rivalry between Jawaharlal and me, or the Congress and the Gandhi Seva Sangh.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 65, P. 87-88

MESSAGE TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF AMERICA

WARDHA,

April 12, 1937

Whatever influence I possess is purely moral. Congressmen recognize in me the author of purely non-violent action and its technique and, therefore, so long as the Congress retains its creed of truth and non-violence, Congressmen are likely to be guided by my advice whenever it has anything to do, directly or indirectly, with non-violent action, but those

who can speak with authority are the President of the Congress, i.e., Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and the Working Committee, i.e., the Congress Cabinet, I function purely as a humble adviser.

For me the present issue is not political, but moral. It is a fight between truth and untruth; non-violence and violence and right and might.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 65, P. 74-75

SPEECH AT GANDHI SEVA SANGH MEETING, HUDLI-III

April 20, 1937

There is nothing to fear if in the same resolution Jawaharlal reads one meaning and I another. I have told him that his own interpretation may not necessarily be true. I had a discussion with him on the subject of office acceptance. The resolution was an independent document. Jawaharlal's contention was that it was not in conformity with the background of the manifesto. I told him that if he so desired I could make it conform to it. For when I say that I shall wreck the Constitution I mean I shall wreck it through non-violence. Please remember this condition of mine. I can bring about freedom by remaining inside it. If we have courage and independence of spirit, we can wreck the Constitution through non-violence. Jawaharlal does not think it is possible though he would of course be happy if this could be done. He mistrusts the human race a little. He says we would not be able to do anything there. He, therefore, places his faith in class struggle. This is the fundamental difference between him and me.

I say capital is insentient but the capitalist is not so. It is possible to change his heart. He says this has never happened before. He quotes instances from history in support of his contention. I hear what he says. But my contention is, if it is not possible through non-violence to do what has not been done so far, which is the other power with which it can

be done? If it cannot be done, then non-violence loses all significance. Never till I die can I accept this—provided of course I retain my ideas till I die. Today it is my firm conviction that non-violence will triumph. Even if we are all defeated non-violence will still triumph. I shall continue to say it until my last moment. Personally I would want to change the heart of the Government also. That is why we are going into the Councils. If I accept office it will be to gain swaraj. If we cannot secure office no harm will be done. I lose nothing. In either case I win. He who considers it improper to accept office with a view to wrecking the Constitution will naturally not accept office. But if we come pledging ourselves to truth, non-violence, fearlessness and unselfishness and accept Ministerships on our own conditions, we can win the battle of swaraj and establish a constitution of our own making in place of the present one. Jawaharlal does not think so. There is no point in hiding the fact that he holds opinions which are different from mine.

There is no doubt that Jawaharlal is inclined to be rash. He says harsh things. Sometimes he calls people names. But he knows the worth of his colleagues. He understands discipline and restraint. Jawaharlal works with his colleagues in the belief that one day he will convert them to his view and he hopes that his contact with them will one day change their opinions.

Jawaharlal believes that we can fight the Government there. Fight we certainly can and fight we may. But we shall not sacrifice truth and non-violence even one whit. We have to prepare for civil disobedience. Jawaharlal also says that we have to prepare for civil disobedience. But he does not consider non-violence the only means. To him non-violence is not the supreme dharma. If for the sake of the freedom of India he feels compelled to cut the throats of Englishmen, he will not hesitate. But he will do it openly, not in a clandestine manner.

This is not my policy. I have given the sovereign place to non-violence. Swaraj coming through violence will be no swaraj

for me. I shall therefore never agree to it. You also share my view. To Jawaharlal violence may well not be dispensable, but if swaraj could be gained through non-violence he would be happy. He, therefore, co-operates with me in my experiments.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 65, P. 119-121

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SEGAON, WARDHA,

July 15, 1937

Today is the election day. I am watching. I do not want to interfere with your handling of the whole situation. For, I want the maximum from you for the country. I would be doing distinct harm, if my writing disturbed you.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 65, P. 395

LETTER TO G.D. BIRLA

July 18, 1937

Let me state this much that whatever Jawaharlal said and did in the Working Committee was marvellous. Even otherwise he held a high place in my esteem but now he has risen still higher. The beauty of it is that it is so in spite of our continuing difference of opinion.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 65, P. 418

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SEGAON,

April 25, 1938

We seem to be weakening from within. It hurts me that, at this very critical juncture in our history, we do not seem to see eye to eye in important matters. I can't tell you how positively lonely I feel to know that nowadays I can't carry you with me. I know that you would do much for affection.

But in matters of state, there can be no surrender to affection, when the intellect rebels. My regard for you is deeper for your revolt. But that only intensifies the grief of loneliness. But I must stop.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 67, P. 47

LETTER TO CARL HEATH

SEGAON, WARDHA,

September 13, 1938

Let this be made clear that there is no real difference between Jawaharlal and me. Our language often differs but we arrive at the same conclusion.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 67, P. 484

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru has called khadi the livery of our freedom. For how many does it bear that meaning? If Congressmen could have that belief, khadi itself would be current coin. Freedom is never dear at any price. It is the breath of life. What would a man not pay for living? The Congress flag was designed to represent not civil disobedience which is but a phase, but it was designed to represent the essentials of freedom. Its back-ground is khadi. The spinning-wheel covers and sustains it. Its colours show how necessary communal unity is for the attainment of freedom. Given the fulfillment of these conditions, civil disobedience and the suffering it implies may not be at all necessary. To wear khadi is for me to wear freedom.

Harijan, 10.12.1938

LETTER TO SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

SEGAON,

February 5, 1939

So far as I can judge the old colleagues whom you consider as rightists will not serve on your cabinet. You can

have their resignations now, if that would be more convenient for you. Their presence would be unfair to you and to them. You should be left free to frame your own programme and expect the rightists. (I wish you would choose better and indigenous terms to designate the parties of your imagination) to support where they can and abstain without obstructing where they cannot see eye to eye with you.

I have just read your statement in answer to mine. Though it demands a reply, I must refrain. I do not want to enter into a public controversy with you so long as I can avoid it.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 68, P. 383

ANSWER TO QUESTIONS AT GANDHI SEVA SANGH MEETING

BRINDABAN-I

May 5, 1939

Q. Are not your differences with the socialists and Jawaharlalji also fundamental ? Would you take up a similar attitude with regard to them ?

Ans. No. My differences with the socialists are of a different kind. Do not confuse the two. They differ with Subhas Babu on the question of giving an ultimatum to the Government. I do not know who exactly supports him on the point. That is why in spite of my having sharp and even fundamental differences with the socialists my attitude towards them is different. Moreover, we cannot put the socialists and Jawaharlal in the same category. Jawaharlal does not lend his name to any socialist group. He believes in socialism. He mixes with the socialists and consults them. But there is considerable difference between their methods of work. The differences between me and the socialists are widely known. I believe in change of heart and in working for it. They do not. They make fun of the spinning-wheel. But even so the socialists are coming nearer to me every day. Or, you may say that I am moving nearer to them. Or, that we are moving nearer to each

other. I cannot say how long it will continue. It is quite likely that one day our ways will part. The same thing happened with Subhas Babu. The Jalpaiguri resolution brought our differences to the fore. There are certainly differences between Jawaharlal and me. But they are not significant. Without him I feel myself a cripple. He also feels more or less the same way. Our hearts are one. This intimate relationship between us has not started with politics. It is very much older and deeper. We shall leave it at that.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 69, P. 210-211

Indian as represented by the Congress has been fighting in order to prove her 'right', not by the sword but by the non-violent method. And she has carved out for herself a unique place and prestige in the world although she is yet far—let us hope, not very far—from the independence of her dream. Her novel method has evidently struck the imagination of the world. It has the right to expect India to play a decisive part in this war, which no people of the world have wanted, by insisting that the peace this time is not to be a mockery designed to share among the victors the spoils of war and to humiliate the vanquished. Jawaharlal Nehru, who has a right to speak for the Congress, has said in stately language that the peace must mean freedom for those who are held in bondage by the imperialist powers of the world. I have every hope that the Congress will also be able to show the world that the power that armaments give to defend right is nothing compared to the power that non-violence gives to do the same thing and that too with better show of reason. Armaments can show no reason, they can make only a pretence of it.

Harijan, 14.10.1939

LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY

October 12, 1939

I feel utterly unable to shoulder the burden. Jawaharlal is the only man with drive to take my place. His difference of outlook will be softened. But what does it matter, if he carried

your minds with him in his new ideas ? We shall not get a more open and sincere man than Jawaharlal with his driving power. Make therefore what use you can of me through him. I have hitherto influenced the country through the Committee. Now I must do so to the extent that I influence Jawaharlal. Don't you agree ?

C.W.M.G. Vol. 70, P. 249

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SEGAON, WARDHA,
October 26, 1939

I could see that though your affection and regard for me remain undiminished, differences in outlook between us are becoming most marked. Perhaps this is the most critical period in our history. I hold very strong views on the most important questions which occupy our attention. I know you too hold strong views on them but different from mine. Your mode of expression is different from mine. I am not sure that I carry the other members with me in the views that I hold very strongly. I cannot move about. I cannot come in direct touch with the masses, not even with the Congress workers. I feel that I must not lead if I cannot carry you all with me. There should be no divided counsels among the members of the Working Committee. I feel that you should take full charge and lead the country, leaving me free to voice my opinion. But if you all thought that I should observe complete silence, I should, I hope, find no difficulty in complying. If you think it worth while, you should come and discuss the whole thing.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 70, P. 297

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

RAILWAY STATION, DELHI,
November 4, 1939

Just after you had gone, Kripalani told me that in

United Provinces there was great ferment and preparation for civil disobedience. He told me, too, that anonymous placards had been circulated asking people to cut wires and tear up rails. My own opinion is that there is at present no atmosphere for civil disobedience. If people take the law into their own hands I must give up command of civil disobedience movement. I would like you to read this week's *Harijan*. It deals with my position in this connection. It was this that I had intended to discuss with you. But it was not to be. At this critical time in our history there should be no misunderstanding between us and, if possible, there should be one mind.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 70, P. 328

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has compelled me to study, among other things, the implications of a Constituent Assembly. When he first introduced it in the Congress resolutions, I reconciled myself to it because of my belief in his superior knowledge of the technicalities of democracy. But I was not free from scepticism. Hard facts have, however, made me a convert and, for that reason perhaps, more enthusiastic than Jawaharlal himself. For I seem to see in it a remedy, which Jawaharlal may not, for our communal and other distempers, besides being a vehicle for mass political and other education.

The more criticism I see of the scheme, the more enamoured I became of it. It will be the surest index to the popular feeling. It will bring out the best and the worst in us.

Harijan, 25.11.1939

Now for the argument that I am but a rare individual, and that what little society has done in the matter of ahimsa is due to my influence, and that it is sure to disappear with me. This is not right. This Congress has a number of leaders who can think for themselves. The Maulana is a great thinker of keen intellect and vast reading. Few can equal him in his Arabic and Persian scholarship. Experience has taught him that ahimsa alone can make India free. It was he who insisted on the resolution accepting ahimsa as a weapon against

internal disturbances. Pandit Jawaharlal is not a man to stand in awe of anyone. His study of history and contemporary events is second to none. It is after mature thought that he has accepted ahimsa as a means for the attainment of swaraj. It is true that he has said that he would not hesitate to accept swaraj if non-violence failed and it could be won by means of violence. But that is not relevant to the present issue.

Harijan, 11.8.1940

SPEECH AT A.I.C.C. MEETING, BOMBAY-III

September 16, 1940

The Working Committee have laid the foundation of swaraj in framing this resolution.

If you ask for a definition of 'swaraj' I cannot give it; nor can Jawaharlalji. It is possible that someone else can fully define the swaraj of my conception. I am prepared to become a pupil of anyone of you who can send me a comprehensive definition of swaraj. The truth is that swaraj is something undefinable. I shall be able to include in my definition only a fraction of all that fills me. But the beauty of this resolution is that if you fully abide by it all your aspirations can be realized. Freedom of speech and civil liberty are the very roots of swaraj. Without these the foundations of swaraj will remain weak.

C.M.W.G. Vol. 73, P. 22

LETTER TO SURESH SINGH

July 17, 1941

You have asked a proper question. I do not feel like saying anything. In such matters I have always given the first place to Jawaharlal's views and he is not here. His policy has been the policy of the Congress. Since he is in prison my mind does not work at all.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 74, P. 169

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME : ITS MEANING AND PLACE

December 13, 1941

Many people do many things, big and small, without connecting them with non-violence or independence. They have then their limited values as expected. The same man appearing as a civilian may be of no consequence, but appearing in his capacity as General he is a big personage, holding the lives of millions at his mercy. Similarly, the charkha in the hands of a poor widow brings a paltry pice to her, in the hands of a Jawaharlal it is an instrument of India's freedom.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 75, P. 166

SPEECH AT A.I.C.C. MEETING

WARDHA,

January 15, 1942

Somebody suggested that Pandit Jawaharlal and I were estranged. This is baseless, Jawaharlal has been resisting me ever since he fell into my net. You cannot divide water by repeatedly striking it with a stick. It is just as difficult to divide us. I have always said that not Rajaji, nor Sardar Vallabhbhai, but Jawaharlal will be my successor. He says whatever is uppermost in his mind, but he always does what I want. When I am gone he will do what I am doing now. Then he will speak my language too. After all he was born in this land. Every day he learns some new thing. He fights with me because I am there. Whom will he fight when I am gone ? And who will suffer his fighting ? Ultimately, he will have to speak my language. Even if this does not happen, I would at least die with this faith.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 75, P. 224

DISCUSSION WITH CONGRESS WORKERS

BENARAS,

January 22, 1942

Q. We should like to have a glimpse of the next six months or a year as you picture it to yourself. You have often said that this is a fight to the finish, your last fight which will not end until the goal is won. What are likely to be the future developments as you can visualize them?

Ans. It is a good question, and also a difficult question. Not that I am not clear, but because it takes us into the realm of speculation. I let things and happenings react on me—though I confess I do not follow everything as Jawaharlal with his study of foreign affairs can. Jawaharlal is convinced that the British Empire is finished. We all wish that it may be finished, but I do not think it is finished. We know that the Britishers are tough fighters, we know what the Empire—especially India—means to every home in Britain, and therefore they will never consent to be ‘Little Englanders’. Mr. Churchill has said that they are not “sugar candles”, and that they can meet rough with rough. Therefore it will be long before the Empire is finished. There is no doubt, however, that they are nearing the end, and what Jawaharlal has said is very true that, if we could do nothing to prevent the war, we certainly will do much to prevent a peace in which we have no voice. That is what every Congressman has to bear in mind. We have, therefore, to be up and doing: If we sit with folded hands, we may have a peace which we do not desire.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 75, P. 246-247

NOTE ON INDIRA NEHRU'S ENGAGEMENT

March 2, 1942

I have received several angry and abusive letters and some professing to reason about Indira's engagement with Feroz Gandhi. Not a single correspondent has anything against

Feroz Gandhi as a man. His only crime in their estimation is that he happens to be a Parsi. I have been, and I am still, as strong an opponent of either party changing religion for the sake of marriage. Religion is not a garment to be cast of at will. In the present case there is no question of change of religion. Feroz Gandhi has been for years an inmate of the Nehru family. He nursed Kamala Nehru in her sickness. He was like a son to her. During Indira's illness in Europe he was of great help to her. A natural intimacy grew up between them. The friendship has been perfectly honourable. It has ripened into mutual attraction. But neither party would think of marrying without the consent and blessing of Jawaharlal Nehru. This was given only after he was satisfied that the attraction has a solid basis. The public know my connection with the Nehrus. I had also talks with both the parties. It would have been cruelty to refuse consent to this engagement. As time advances such unions are bound to multiply with benefit to society. At present we have not even reached the stage of mutual toleration, but as toleration grow into mutual respect for religions such unions will be welcomed. No religion which is narrow and which cannot satisfy the test of reason will survive the coming reconstruction of society in which the values will have changed and character, not possession of wealth, title or birth, will be the sole test of merit. The Hinduism of my conception is no narrow creed. It is a grand evolutionary process as ancient as time, and embraces the teachings of Zoroaster, Moses, Christ Mohammed, Nanak and other prophets that I could name. It is thus defined:

विद्वद्भिः सेवितः सद्यिर्नित्यमद्वेषशक्तिभिः ।

हृदयेनाभ्यनुज्ञातो यो धर्मस्त निबोधत ॥

Know that to be (true) religion which the wise and the good and those who are ever free from passion and hate follow and which appeals to the heart.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 75, P. 375

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

March 4, 1942

About Indu's marriage, I hold the firm opinion that no one from outside need be invited. A few persons who are at Allahabad may, however, be called as witnesses. You can send invitation cards to as many people as you like. Ask for blessings from everybody but make it clear that no one in particular need take the trouble of coming. If one person is asked to come, others cannot be left out.

It has to be considered whether or not Indu likes to go to this extent of simplicity. In case you too do not like to go so far, you can rule out my suggestion.

I have seen your statement about Indu. I like it.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 75, P. 382

REPLY DURING INTERVIEW TO BOMBAY SUBURBAN AND GUJARAT CONGRESSMEN

May 15, 1942

I have not yet met Jawahar nor Maulana. But as you know well, although Jawahar and myself have differed quite often, he has always been with me as far as action goes. And I hope to win him to me.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 76, P. 109

LETTER TO CHIANG KAI-SHEK

SEVAGRAM,

June 14, 1942

I have thus felt greatly attracted towards your great country and, in common with my countrymen, our sympathy has gone out to you in your terrible struggle. Our mutual

friend, Jawaharlal Nehru, whose love of China is only excelled, if at all, by his love of his own country, has kept us in intimate touch with the developments of the Chinese struggle.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 76, P. 223

I derived my inspiration and knowledge from Panditji about foreign matters of which he had been a deep student. Therefore, I said that he could fill in that part in the resolution.

The Bombay Chronicle, 5.8.1942

The suppressed races of the earth will never see the fine distinction that Panditji and following him I can see and make between Fascism and Imperialism.

The Bombay Chronicle, 5.8.1942

CABLE TO V. K. KRISHNA MENON

November 12, 1944

Jawaharlal is a jewel among men. Happy is the land that owns him. Something is radically wrong with the system that has no better use of persons like him than as prisoners.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 78, P. 289

STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

MAHABALESHWAR,

May 4, 1945

Next, I come to Sir Firoz's statement about Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and me. He should know that I have called the Pandit my successor. He does not need to come to the front. He is in the front. The Government of India would not let him work as he would. He and I are friends. But we are no rivals. We are both servants of the people and the platform of service is as big as the world. It is never overcrowded. On it, there is always room for more, and as on the point of

independence we have no differences, we are always brothers in arms. He has undoubtedly the advantage of youth over me.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 80, P. 65

LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

‘MANOR VILLE’, SIMLA,

June 25, 1945

There are several names in the Kasturba Memorial Trust. When the Trust was formed, I had expressed a desire that your name and Sardar’ should be included. All the Trustees were agreeable that the names of you two should be included when you were released. I had forgotten to consult you. It occurred to me this morning. Will you agree to be on the Trust? It means working for women and children in the villages and that too in my way. If you can take interest in this, I can send you the papers for your perusal. I have said the same thing to Sardar. He is considering it. I have told him that this is no matter for honour. It is a matter of work.

The same is true about the propagation of Hindustani. I am very keen on having your name for it if you are agreeable. I shall send you the papers if you like, for your perusal about this too. I am scared of placing any more burden on your head as you are already overburdened. But what can I do?

Everyone misses you here.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 80, P. 367-368

INTERVIEW TO PRESTON GROVER

SIMLA,

June 29, 1945

I was not joking when I made a statement some time back in answer to Sir Feroz Khan Noon at San Francisco, that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is my heir. He has got ability, knowledge and close touch with the public here and can

interpret India's mind. I have already, as I wrote to Lord Linlithgow, taken him as my guide in international affairs. He can interpret India's mind to the outside world as no one else can.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 80, P. 383

SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

NEW DELHI,

April 1, 1947

All these people who have come from all over Asia talk very lovingly to Jawaharlal. They are all very pleased with him. By the grace of God, we have a gem of a man in our midst who wants to embrace the whole world. Should we not maintain peace if only to honour him?

C.W.M.G. Vol. 87, P. 186

TALK WITH EGYPTIAN DELEGATES

April 4, 1947

I shall certainly die with the hope that my efforts of the last thirty years will not be in vain and that there surely will be a powerful section in the country that would hold steadfastly to the doctrine of true non-violence. You have already met my heir Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his associates. I hope you have had a discussion with him. But I have faith that a day will come when the world will come to India in search of peace and India and Asia will become the light of the world. I do not know whether I shall survive to witness the day, for I might be consumed in the conflagration that is raging now. But you who are all young men will live to see it. (Laughter). I tell you all that our 'Jawahar' meaning a 'jewel' is sure to become one. And he will belong not only to India but will become an ornament of the whole of Asia—of those countries from where you all have come here to cultivate our friendship. However, without your help nothing can be achieved. You have come

here from distant lands drawn by your love of him and he deeply appreciates it.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 87, P. 202

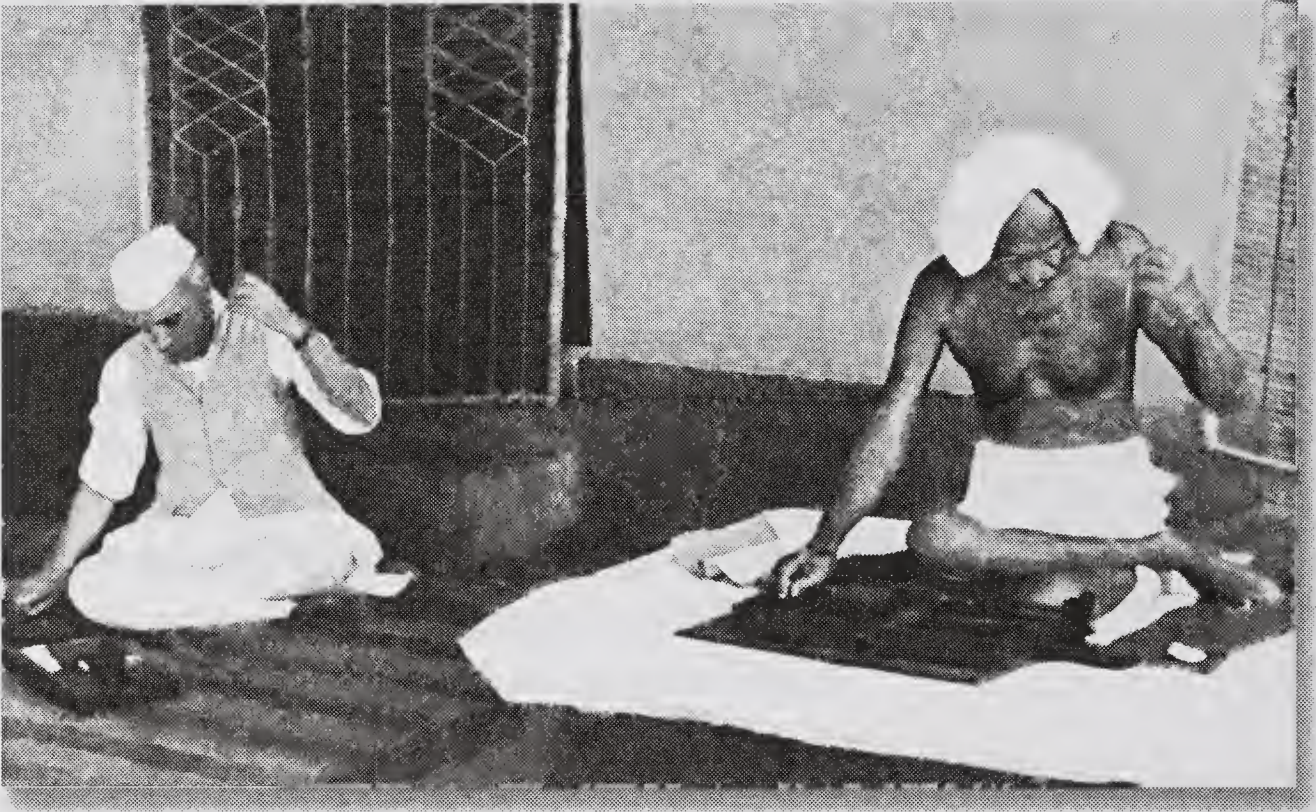
TALK WITH MANU GANDHI

BHANGI NIWAS, NEW DELHI,

May 1, 1947

The members of the Congress Working Committee are unnecessarily insisting on my presence. Specially Jawaharlal is earnestly pressing me for it. I, however, do not feel that my presence will be of much help, since my line of thinking at the moment is entirely different. I have come here because I could not resist Jawahar's invitation.

C.W.M.G. Vol. 87, P. 396



Part—II

NEHRU ON GANDHI

On that day Lokamanya Tilak died in Bombay. That very morning Gandhiji had reached Bombay after a tour in Sindh. I was with him and we joined that mighty demonstration in which the whole of Bombay's million population seemed to have poured out to do reverence to the great leader whom they had loved so well.

An Autobiography, P. 47

Gandhiji disliked vague and big objectives, he always preferred concentrating on something specific and definite.

An Autobiography, P. 63

He was attracted by Gandhiji as a man, and that no doubt was a factor which influenced him. Nothing could have made him a close associate of person he disliked, for he was always strong in his likes and dislikes. But it was a strange combination—the saint, the stoic, the man of religion, one who went through life rejecting what it offers in the way of sensation and physical pleasure, and one who had been a bit of an epicure, who accepted life and welcomed and enjoyed its many sensations, and cared little for what may come in the hereafter. In the language of psychoanalysis it was a meeting of an introvert with an extrovert. Yet there were common bonds, common interests, which drew the two together and kept up, even when, in later years, their politics diverged, a close friendship between them.

An Autobiography, P. 65

Gandhiji, indeed, was continually laying stress on the religious and spiritual side of the movement. His religion was not dogmatic, but it did mean a definitely religious outlook on life, and the whole movement was strongly influenced by this and took on a revivalist character so far as the masses were concerned. The great majority of Congress workers naturally tried to model themselves after their leader and even repeated his language. And yet Gandhiji's leading colleagues in the

Working Committee—my father, Deshbandhu Das, Lala Lajpat Rai, and others—were not men of religion in the ordinary sense of the word, and they considered political problems on the political plane only. In their public utterances they did not bring in religion. But whatever they said had far less influence than the force of their personal example—had they not given up a great deal that the world values and taken to simpler ways of living? This in itself was taken as a sign of religion and helped in spreading the atmosphere of revivalism.

An Autobiography, P. 72

But about our goal there was an entire absence of clear thinking. It seems surprising now, how completely we ignored the theoretical aspects, the philosophy of our movement as well as the definite objective that we should have... Gandhiji was delightfully vague on the subject, and he did not encourage clear thinking about it either. But he always spoke, vaguely but definitely, in terms of the underdog, and this brought great comfort to many of us, although, at the same time, he was full of assurances to the top-dog also... Few of us, I think, accepted Gandhiji's old ideas about machinery and modern civilization. We thought that even he looked upon them as utopian and as largely inapplicable to modern conditions.

An Autobiography, P. 76-77

Suddenly, early in February 1922, the whole scene shifted, and we in prison learnt, to our amazement and consternation, that Gandhiji has stopped the aggressive aspects of our struggle, that he has suspended civil resistance. We read that this was because of what had happened near the village of Chauri Chaura where a mob of villagers had retaliated on some policemen by setting fire to the police-station and burning half a dozen or so policemen in it.

After many months of strain and anxiety the Government breathed again, and for the first time had the opportunity of

taking the initiative. A few weeks later they arrested Gandhiji and sentenced him for a long term of imprisonment.

An Autobiography, P. 81

What troubled us even more were the reasons given for this suspension and the consequences that seemed to flow from them. If this was the inevitable consequence of a sporadic act of violence, then surely there was something lacking in the philosophy and technique of a non-violent struggle.

An Autobiography, P. 82

We were moved by these arguments, but for us and for the National Congress as a whole the non-violent method was not, and could not be, a religion or an unchallengeable creed or dogma. It could only be a policy and a method promising certain results, and by those results it would have to be finally judged. Individuals might make of it a religion or incontrovertible creed. But no political organisation, so long as it remained political, could do so.

An Autobiography, P. 84

He stated that the movement should not be abandoned because of the occurrence of sporadic acts of violence.

As a matter of fact even the suspension of civil resistance in February 1922 was certainly not due to Chauri Chaura alone, although most people imagined so. That was only the last straw. Gandhiji has often acted almost by instinct; by long and close association with the masses he appears to have developed, as great popular leaders often do, a new sense which tells him how the mass feels, what it does and what it can do.

An Autobiography, P. 85

These were probably the reasons and influences that worked in Gandhiji's mind, and granting his premises and the

desirability of carrying on with the technique of non-violence, his decision was right.

I found many changes that I had not so far noticed new ideas, new conflicts, and instead of light I saw a growing confusion. My faith in Gandhiji's leadership remained, but I began to examine some parts of his programme more critically.

An Autobiography, P. 104

I came to the conclusion that Gandhiji's difficulties had been caused because he was moving in an unfamiliar medium. He was superb in his special field of satyagrahic direct action, and his instinct unerringly led him to take the right steps.

An Autobiography, P. 127

Ever since Gandhiji appeared on the Indian political scene, there has been no going back in popularity for him, so far as the masses are concerned. There has been a progressive increase in his popularity, and this process still continues. They may not carry out his wishes, for human nature is often weak, but their hearts are full of goodwill for him. When objective conditions help they rise in huge mass movements, otherwise they lie low. A leader does not create a mass movement out of nothing, as if by a stroke of the magician's wand. He can take advantage of the conditions themselves when they arise; he can prepare for them, but not create them.

An Autobiography, P. 128

For it was clear that this little man of poor physique had something of steel in him, something rock-like which did not yield to physical powers, however great they might be. And in spite of his unimpressive features, his loin-cloth and bare body, there was a royalty and a kingliness in him which compelled a willing obeisance from others. Consciously and deliberately meek and humble, yet he was full of enough, issuing commands which had to be obeyed. His calm, deep

eyes would hold one and gently probe into the depths; his voice, clear and limpid, would purr its way into the heart and evoke an emotional response. Whether his audience consisted of one person or a thousand, the charm and magnetism of the man passed on to it, and each one had a feeling of communion with the speaker.

An Autobiography, P. 129

This process of 'spell-binding' was not brought about by oratory or the hypnotism of silken phrases. The language was always simple and to the point and seldom was an unnecessary word used. It was the utter sincerity of the man and his personality that gripped; he gave the impression of tremendous inner reserves of power. Perhaps also it was a tradition that had grown up about him which helped in creating a suitable atmosphere. A stranger, ignorant of this tradition and not in harmony with the surroundings, would probably not have been touched by that spell, or, at any rate, not to the same extent. And yet one of the most remarkable things about Gandhiji was, and is, his capacity to win over, or at least to disarm, his opponents.

An Autobiography, P. 130

In December 1924, the Congress session was held at Belgaum, and Gandhiji was President. For him to become the Congress President was something in the nature of an anticlimax, for he had long been the permanent super-president. At the end of the session I was again elected, at Gandhiji's instance, the working secretary of the A.I.C.C. for the next year. In spite of my own wishes in the matter, I was gradually becoming a semi-permanent secretary of the Congress.

An Autobiography, P. 132

He took each province by turn and visited every district and almost every town of any consequence, as well as remote

rural areas. Everywhere he attracted enormous crowds, and it required a great deal of previous staff-work to carry through his programme. In this manner he has repeatedly toured India and got to know every bit of the vast country from the north to the far south, from the eastern mountains to the western sea. I do not think any other human being has ever travelled about India as much as he has done. Gandhiji went by railway and automobile, but he did not confine himself to them; he tramped also. In this way he gathered his unique knowledge of India and her people, and in this way also scores of missions saw him and came into personal touch with him. There were not broadcasting facilities, except rarely in a few big cities, and it was manifestly impossible to be heard by these crowds. Probably they did not expect to hear anything; they were satisfied if they saw the Mahatma.

An Autobiography, P. 191

To some extent I resented Gandhiji's pre-occupation with non-political issues, and I could never understand the background of his thought. In those days he was collecting funds for khadi work, and he would say frequently that he wanted money for *Daridranarayan*, the Lord of the Poor, or 'God that resides in the Poor' meaning thereby, presumably, that he wanted it to help the poor to find employment and work in cottage industries. But behind that word there seemed to be a glorification of poverty; God was especially the Lord of the poor; they were His chosen people. That, I suppose, is the usual religious attitude everywhere. I could not appreciate it, for poverty seemed to me a hateful thing, to be fought and rooted out and not to be encouraged in any way.

Whenever I had occasion to discuss this with Gandhiji he would lay stress on the rich treating their riches as a trust for the people; it was a view-point of considerable antiquity, and one comes across it frequently in India as well as medieval Europe. I confess that I have always been wholly unable to understand how any person can reasonably expect this to

happen, or imagine that therein lies the solution of the social problem.

An Autobiography, P. 192

A meeting of the All-India Congress Committee was held in Lucknow to decide finally, and almost to the last hour all of us thought that he would agree. But he would not do so, and at the last moment he pressed my name forward. The A.I.C.C. was somewhat taken aback by his final refusal, and a little irritated at being placed in a difficult and invidious position. For want of any other person, and in a spirit of resignation they finally elected me.

An Autobiography, P. 194

As we saw the abounding enthusiasm of the people and the way salt-making was spreading like a prairie fire, we felt a little abashed and ashamed for having questioned the efficacy of this method when it was first proposed by Gandhiji. And we marvelled at the amazing knack of the man to impress the multitude and make it act in an organised way.

An Autobiography, P. 213

That year 1930 was full of dramatic situations and inspiring happenings; what surprised most was the amazing power of Gandhiji to inspire and enthuse a whole people. There was something almost hypnotic about it, and we remembered the words used by Gokhale about him: how he had the power of making heroes out of clay.

An Autobiography, P. 223

So I lay and pondered on that March night, and in my heart there was a great emptiness as of something precious gone, almost beyond recall.

“This is the way the world ends,
Not with a bang, but a whimper.”

An Autobiography, P. 259

Gandhiji learnt indirectly of my distress, and the next morning he asked me to accompany him in his usual walk. We had a long talk, and he tried to convince me that nothing vital had been lost, no surrender of principle made. He interpreted Clause 2 of the agreement in a particular way so as to make it fit in with our demand for independence, relying chiefly on the words in it: "in the interests of India". The interpretation seemed to me to be a forced one, and I was not convinced, but I was somewhat soothed by his talk. The merits of the agreement apart, I told him that his way of springing surprises upon us frightened me; there was something unknown about him which, in spite of the closest association for fourteen years, I could not understand at all and which filled me with apprehension. He admitted the presence of this unknown element in him, and said that he himself could not answer for it or foretell what it might lead to.

An Autobiography, P. 260

The principal resolution at Karachi dealt with the Delhi Pact and the Round Table Conference. I accepted it, of course, as it emerged from the Working Committee, but when I was asked by Gandhiji to move it in the open Congress, I hesitated. It went against the grain, and I refused at first, and then this seemed a weak and unsatisfactory position to take up. Either I was for it or against it, and it was not proper to prevaricate or leave people guessing in the matter. Almost at the last moment, a few minutes before the resolution was taken up in the open Congress, I decided to sponsor it. In my speech I tried to lay before the great gathering quite frankly what my feelings were and why I had wholeheartedly accepted that resolution and pleaded with them to accept it. That speech, made on the spur of the moment and coming from the heart, and with little of ornament or fine phrasing in it, was probably a greater success than many of my other efforts, which had followed a more careful preparation.

In the Karachi resolution it took a step, a very short step, in a socialist direction by advocating nationalisation of

key industries and services, and various other measures to lessen the burden on the poor and increase it on the rich.

An Autobiography, P. 266

So far as Mr. Gandhi is concerned, I have had the privilege of knowing him pretty intimately for the last seventeen years, and the idea of my presenting ultimatums to him or bargaining with him seems to me monstrous. We may accommodate ourselves to each other; or we may, on a particular issue, part company, but the methods of the market-place can never affect our mutual dealings.

An Autobiography, P. 267

It was Gandhiji's chief virtue as a leader that he could instinctively feel the pulse of the people and know when conditions were ripe for growth and action.

An Autobiography, P. 282

A mere suggestion from him that he would retire has always been enough to upset the Working Committee as well as the country. He was so much part of our struggle that the very thought that he might leave us was unbearable. We hesitated to send him to London, because in his absence the burden in India would fall on us, and we did not welcome the prospect. We were so used to shifting it on to his shoulders. For many of us, in the Working Committee and outside, the bonds that tied us to Gandhiji were such that even failure with him seemed preferable to the winning of some temporary advantage without him.

An Autobiography, P. 289

He has the *bania's* instinct for careful accounting, and all his collections are publicly audited.

An Autobiography, P. 290

I doubt if any political or labour movement on a large scale has been run anywhere with so little money as the Congress movement during the last fifteen years.

An Autobiography, P. 292

But Congress at present meant Gandhiji. What would he do ? Ideologically he was sometimes amazingly backward, and yet in action he had been the greatest revolutionary of recent time in India. He as a unique personality, and it was impossible to judge him by the usual standards, or even to apply the ordinary canons of logic to him. But because he was a revolutionary at bottom and was pledged to political independence for India, he was bound to play an uncompromising role till that independence was achieved. And in this very process he would release tremendous mass energies and would himself, I half hoped, advance step by step towards the social goal.

An Autobiography, P. 365

If Bapu died ! What would India be like then ? And how would her politics run ? There seemed to be a dreary and dismal future ahead, and despair seized my heart when I thought of it.

An Autobiography, P. 370

Then came news of the tremendous upheaval all over the country, a magic wave of enthusiasm running through Hindu society, and untouchability appeared to be doomed. What a magician, I thought, was this little man sitting in Yeravda Prison, and how well he knew how to pull the strings that move people's hearts!

An Autobiography, P. 371

Your letter. What can I say about matters. I do not understand, I feel lost in strange country where you are the only familiar landmark and I try to grope my way in dark but

I stumble. Whatever happens my love and thoughts will be with you.

An Autobiography, P. 373

I was amazed at Gandhiji's appeal, under the circumstances then existing, and even more so by the strenuous efforts of Rajagopalachariar, who, a few weeks before, had been the acting-President of the Congress. Civil Disobedience, of course, suffered by these activities, but what hurt me more was the moral side. To me, for Gandhiji or any Congress leader to countenance such activities appeared immoral and almost a breach of faith with the large numbers of people in gaol or carrying on the struggle. But I knew that his way of looking at it was different.

An Autobiography, P. 381

Where was his elusive Peace that was being sought, when the Government was triumphantly trying to crush the nation in every way, and people were starving to death in the Andamans? But I knew that, whatever happened it was Gandhiji's way always to offer the olive branch.

An Autobiography, P. 386

“And I yearn to lay my head
Where the grass is cool and sweet.
Mother, all the dreams are fled
From the tired child at thy feet.”

APRIL came. Rumours reached me in my cell in Alipore of happenings outside, rumours that were unpleasant and disturbing. The Superintendent of the gaol informed me casually one day that Mr. Gandhi had withdrawn Civil Disobedience. I knew no more. The news was not welcome, and I felt sad at this winding-up of something that had meant so much to me for many years. And yet I reasoned with myself that the end was bound to come. I knew in my heart that some time or other Civil Disobedience would have to be

wound up, for the time being at least. Individuals may hold out almost indefinitely, regardless of the consequences, but national organisations do not behave in this manner. I had no doubt that Gandhiji had interpreted correctly the mind of the country and of the great majority of Congressmen, and I tried to reconcile myself to the new development, unpleasant as it was.

An Autobiography, P. 504

Some days later the weekly *Statesman* came to me, and I read in it the statement which Gandhiji had issued when withdrawing Civil Disobedience. I read it with amazement and sinking of heart. Again and again I read it, and Civil Disobedience and much else vanished from my mind and other doubts and conflicts filled it. "This statement," wrote Gandhiji, "owes its inspiration to a personal chat with the inmates and associates of the Satyagraha Ashram... More especially is it due to a revealing information I got in the course of a conversation about a valued companion of long standing who was found reluctant to perform the full prison task, preferring his private studies to the allotted task. This was undoubtedly contrary to the rules of Satyagraha. More than the imperfection of the friend whom I love, more than ever it brought home to me my own imperfections. The friend said he had thought that I was aware of his weakness. I was blind. Blindness in a leader is unpardonable. I saw at once that I must for the time being remain the sole representative of civil resistance in action."

An Autobiography, P. 505

Gandhiji had stated that there were temperamental differences between us. They were perhaps more than temperamental, and I realised that I held clear and definite views about many matters which were opposed to his. And yet in the past I had tried to subordinate them, as far as I could, to what I conceived to be the larger loyalty—the cause of national freedom for which the Congress seemed to be working

I tried to be loyal and faithful to my leader and my colleagues, for in my spiritual make-up loyalty to a cause and to one's colleagues holds a high place. I fought many a battle within myself when I felt that I was being dragged away from the anchor of my spiritual faith. Somehow I managed to compromise. Perhaps I did wrong, for it can never be right for any one to let go of that anchor. But in the conflict of ideals I clung to my loyalty to my colleagues, and hoped that the rush of events and the development of our struggle might dissolve the difficulties that troubled me and bring my colleagues nearer to my view-point.

And now? Suddenly I felt very lonely in that cell of Alipore Gaol. Life seemed to be a dreary affair, a very wilderness of desolation. Of the many hard lessons that I had learnt, the hardest and the most painful now faced me: that it is not possible in any vital matter to rely on any one. One must journey through life alone; to rely on others is to invite heartbreak.

An Autobiography, P. 507

Bapuji lies in prison, but the magic of his message steals into the hearts of India's millions, and men and women, and even little children, come out of their little shells and become India's soldiers of freedom.

Glimpses of World History, P. 2-3

It so happened that a young Indian barrister was taken to South Africa to appear in a law-case. He saw the condition of his fellow countrymen, and he was humiliated and distressed by it. He resolved to do his best to help them. For many years he laboured quietly, giving up his profession and his belongings and devoting himself entirely to the cause he had espoused. This man was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Today every child in India knows him and loves him, but then he was little known outside South Africa. Suddenly his name flashed across to India, and people talked of him and of his brave fight with

surprise and admiration and pride. The South African Government had tried to humiliate the Indian residents there still more, and under Gandhi's leadership they had refused to submit. This was strange enough, that a community of poor, downtrodden, ignorant workers and a group of petty merchants, far from their home country, should take up this brave attitude. What was stranger still was the method they had adopted, for as a political weapon this was a novel one in the world's history. We have heard of it often enough since. It was Gandhi's *satyagraha*, which means holding on to truth. It is some-times called passive resistance, but that is not a correct translation, for it is active enough. It is not non-resistance merely, though *ahimsa* or non-violence is an essential part of it. Gandhi startled India and South Africa with this non-violent warfare, and people in India learnt with a thrill of pride and joy of the thousands of our countrymen and women who went willingly to gaol in South Africa. In our hearts we were ashamed of our subjection and our impotence in our own country, and this instance of a brave challenge on behalf of our own people increased our own self-respect. Suddenly India became politically awake on this issue, and money poured into South Africa. The fight was stopped when Gandhiji and the South African Government came to terms.

Glimpses of World History, P. 624

In India the last fourteen years have been very full ones, and have seen an aggressive and yet a peaceful nationalism. Soon after the war, when expectations of great reforms ran high, we had martial law in the Punjab and the horrible massacre of Jallianwala Bagh. Anger at this and Muslim resentment at the treatment of Turkey and the Caliphate led to the non-co-operation movement of 1920-22 under Gandhi's leadership. Indeed, from 1920 onwards Gandhi has been the unquestioned leader of Indian nationalism. This has been the Gandhi Age in India, and his methods of peaceful revolt, by their novelty and efficacy, have attracted the world's attention.

Glimpses of World History, P. 689

As the outcry against the Bills gained volume, a new factor appeared, a little cloud on the political horizon which grew and spread rapidly till it covered the Indian sky.

This new factor was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. He had returned to India from South Africa during war-time and settled down with his colony in an *ashram* in Sabarmati. He had kept away from politics. He had even helped the government in recruiting men for the war. He was, of course, very well known in India since his *satyagraha* struggle in South Africa. In 1917 he had championed with success the miserable downtrodden tenants of the European planters in the Champaran District of Bihar. Later he had stood up for the peasantry of Kaira in Gujrat. Early in 1919 he was very ill. He had barely recovered from it when the Rowlatt Bill agitation filled the country. He also joined his voice to the universal outcry.

But this voice was somehow different from the others. It was quiet and low, and yet it could be heard above the shouting of the multitude; it was soft and gentle, and yet there seemed to be steel hidden away somewhere in it; it was courteous and full of appeal, and yet there was something grim and frightening in it; every word used was full of meaning and seemed to carry a deadly earnestness. Behind the language of peace and friendship there was power and the quivering shadow of action and a determination not to submit to a wrong. We are familiar with that voice now; we have heard it often enough during the last fourteen years. But it was new to us in February and March 1919; we did not quite know what to make of it, but we were thrilled. This was something very different from our noisy politics of condemnation and nothing else, long speeches always ending in the same futile and ineffective resolutions of protest which nobody took very seriously. This was the politics of action, not of talk.

Mahatma Gandhi organized a *Satyagraha Sabha* of those who were prepared to break chosen laws and thus court imprisonment. This was quite a novel idea then, and many of us were excited but many shrank back. Today it is the most

commonplace of occurrences, and for most of us it has become a fixed and regular part of our lives!

Glimpses of World History, P. 713-714

And then Gandhi came. He was like a powerful current of fresh air that made us stretch ourselves and take deep breaths; like a beam of light that pierced the darkness and removed the scales from our eyes; like a whirlwind that upset many things, but most of all the working of people's minds. He did not descend from the top; he seemed to emerge from the millions of India, speaking their language and incessantly drawing attention to them and their appalling condition. Get off the backs of these peasants and workers, he told us, all you who live by their exploitation; get rid of the system that produces this poverty and misery. Political freedom took new shape then and acquired a new content. Much that he said we only partially accepted or sometimes did not accept at all. But all this was secondary. The essence of his teaching was fearlessness and truth, and action allied to these, always keeping the welfare of the masses in view. The greatest gift for an individual or a nation, so we had been told in our ancient books, was *abhaya* (fearlessness), not merely bodily courage but the absence of fear from the mind. Janaka and Yajnavalka had said, at the dawn of our history, that it was the function of the leaders of a people to make them fearless. But the dominant impulse in India under British rule was that of fear - pervasive, oppressing, strangling fear; fear of the army, the police, the widespread secret service; fear of the official class; fear of laws meant to suppress and of prison; fear of the landlord's agent; fear of the moneylender; fear of unemployment and starvation, which were always on the threshold. It was against this all pervading fear that Gandhi's quiet and determined voice was raised: Be not afraid. Was it so simple as all that? Not quite. And yet fear builds its phantoms which are more fearsome than reality itself, and reality, when calmly analysed and its consequences willingly accepted, loses much of its terror.

Discovery of India, P. 359

And there is one thing I've never felt with anybody else—not the kind of thing you would expect to find in me, either—and that is a sense of shame. Socrates is the only man in the world that can make me feel ashamed. Because there's no getting away from it, I know I ought to do the things he tells me to; and yet the moment I'm out of his sight I don't care what I do to keep in with the mob. So I dash off like a runaway slave, and keep out of his way as long as I can: and the next time I meet him I remember all that I had to admit the time before, and naturally I feel ashamed.

Yes, I have heard Pericles and all the other great orators, and very eloquent I thought they were; but they never affected me like that; they never turned my whole soul upside down and left me feeling as if I were the lowest of the low; but this latter day Maryas, here, has often left me in such a state of mind that I've felt I simply couldn't go on living the way I did.

Only I've been bitten by something much more poisonous than a snake; in fact, mine is the most painful kind of bite there is. I've been bitten in the heart, or the mind or whatever you like to call it...

Gandhi for the first time entered the Congress organization and immediately brought about a complete change in its constitution. He made it democratic and a mass organization. Democratic it had been previously also but it had so far been limited in franchise and restricted to the upper classes. Now the peasants rolled in and, in its new garb, it began to assume the look of a vast agrarian organization with a strong sprinkling of the middle classes...

Gandhi was an odd kind of pacifist, for he was an activist full of dynamic energy. There was no submission in him to fate or anything that he considered evil; he was full of resistance, though this was peaceful and courteous.

Discovery of India, P. 360

It is said, and I think with truth, that the Indian habit of mind is essentially one of quietism. Perhaps old races

develop that attitude to life; a long tradition of philosophy also leads to it and yet Gandhi, a typical product of India, represents the very anti-thesis of quietism. He has been a demon of energy and action, a hustler, and a man who not only drives himself but drives others. He has done more than anyone I know to fight and change the quietism of the Indian people.

Discovery of India, P. 361

Gandhi held strong views on economic, social and other matters. He did not try to impose all of these on the Congress, though he continued to develop his ideas, and sometimes in the process varied them, through his writings. But some he tried to push into the Congress. He proceeded cautiously for he wanted to carry the people with him. Sometimes he went too far for the Congress and had to retrace his steps. Not many accepted his views in their entirety; some disagreed with that fundamental outlook. But many accepted them in the modified form in which they came to the Congress as being suited to the circumstances then existing. In two respects the background of his thought had a vague but considerable influence; the fundamental test of everything was how far it benefited the masses, and the means were always important and could not be ignored even though the end in view was right, for the means governed the end and varied it.

Gandhi was essentially a man of religion, a Hindu to the innermost depths of his being, and yet his conception of religion had nothing to do with any dogma or custom or ritual. It was basically concerned with his firm belief in the moral law, which he calls the law of truth or love. Truth and non-violence appear to him to be the same thing or different aspects of one and the same thing, and he uses these words almost interchangeably. Claiming to understand the spirit of Hinduism, he rejects every text or practice which does not fit in with his idealist interpretation of what it should be, calling it an interpolation or a subsequent accretion. 'I decline to be a slave,' he had said, 'to precedents or practice I cannot understand or defend on a moral basis.' And so in practice he

is singularly free to take the path of his choice, to change and adapt himself, to develop his philosophy of life and action, subject only to the overriding consideration of the moral law as he conceives this to be. Whether that philosophy is right or wrong, may be argued, but he insists on applying the same fundamental yard-stick to everything, and himself especially. In politics, as in other aspects of life, this creates difficulties for the average person, and often misunderstanding. But no difficulty makes him swerve from the straight line of his choosing, though within limits he is continually adapting himself to a changing situation. Every reform that he suggests, every advice that he gives to others, he straightway applies to himself. He is always beginning with himself and his words and actions fit into each other like a glove on the hand. And so, whatever happens, he never loses his integrity and there is always an organic completeness about his life and work. Even in his apparent failures he has seemed to grow in stature.

What was his idea of India which he was setting out to mould according to his own wishes and ideals? 'I shall work for an India in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country, in whose making they have an effective voice, an India in which there shall be no high class and low class of people, an India in which there shall be no high class and low class of people, an India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony... There can be no room in such an India for the curse of untouchability or the curse of intoxicating drinks and drugs... Women will enjoy the same right as men. . . This is the India of my dreams. Proud of his Hindu inheritance as he was, he tried to give to Hinduism a kind of universal attire and included all religions within the fold of truth. He refused to narrow his cultural inheritance.

'Indian culture', he wrote, 'is neither Hindu, Islamic, nor any other, wholly. It is a fusion of all.' Again he said: 'I want the culture of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any. I refuse to live in other peoples' houses as an interloper, a

beggar, or a slave.' Influenced by modern thought currents, he never let go of his roots and clung to them tenaciously.

And so he set about to restore the spiritual unity of the people and to break the barrier between the small westernized group at the top and the masses, to discover the living elements in the old roots and to build upon them, to waken these masses out of their stupor and static condition and make them dynamic. In his single-track and yet many-sided nature the dominating impression that one gathered was his identification with the masses, a community of spirit with them, an amazing sense of unity with the dispossessed and poverty-stricken not only of India but of the world. Even religion, as everything else, took second place to his passion to raise these submerged people. 'A semi-starved nation can have neither religion, nor art nor organization.' 'Whatever can be useful to starving millions is beautiful to my mind. Let us give today first the vital things of life, and all the graces and ornaments of life will follow... I want art and literature that can speak to millions.' These unhappy dispossessed millions haunted him and everything seemed to revolve round them. 'For millions it is an eternal vigil or an eternal trance.' His ambition, he said, was 'to wipe every tear from every eye.'

It is not surprising that this astonishingly vital man, full of self-confidence and an unusual kind of power, standing for equality and freedom for each individual, but measuring all this in terms of the poorest, fascinated the masses of India and attracted them like a magnet. He seemed to them to link up the past with the future and to make the dismal present appear just as a stepping-stone to that future of life and hope. And not the masses only but intellectuals and others also, though their minds were often troubled and confused and the change-over for them from the habits of a lifetime was more difficult. Thus he effected a vast psychological revolution not only among those who followed his lead but also among his opponents and those many neutrals who could not make up their minds what to think and what to do.

Congress was dominated by Gandhi and yet it was a peculiar domination, for the Congress was an active, rebellious, many-sided organization, full of variety of opinion, and not easily led this way or that. Often Gandhi toned down his position to meet the wishes of others, sometimes he accepted even an adverse decision. On some vital matters for him, he was adamant, and on more than one occasion there came a break between him and the Congress. But always he was the symbol of India's independence and militant nationalism, the unyielding opponent of all those who sought to enslave her, and it was as such a symbol that people gathered to him and accepted his lead, even though they disagreed with him on other matters. They did not always accept that lead when there was no active struggle going on, but when the struggle was inevitable that symbol became all important, and everything else was secondary.

Discovery of India, P. 362-364

This fact of increasing mass poverty influenced Gandhi powerfully. It is true, I think, that there is a fundamental difference between his outlook on life generally and what might be called the modern outlook. He is not enamoured of ever-increasing standards of living and the growth of luxury at the cost of spiritual and moral values. He does not favour the soft life; for him the straight way is the hard way, and the love of luxury leads to crookedness and loss of virtue. Above all he is shocked at the vast gulf that stretches between the rich and the poor, in their ways of living, and their opportunities of growth. For his own personal and psychological satisfaction, he crossed that gulf and went over to the side of the poor, adopting, with only such improvements as the poor themselves could afford, their ways of living, their dress or lack of dress. This vast difference between the few rich and the poverty stricken-masses seemed to him to be due to two principal causes: foreign rule and the exploitation that accompanied it, and the capitalist industrial civilization of the west as embodied in the big machine. He reacted against both. He looked back with yearning to the days of the old autonomous and more-or-

less self-contained village community where there had been an automatic balance between production, distribution, and consumption; where political or economic power was spread out and not concentrated as it is today; where a kind of simple democracy prevailed; where the gulf between the rich and the poor was not so marked; where the evil of great cities were absent and people lived in contact with the life-giving soil and breathed the pure air of the open spaces.

There was all this basic difference in outlook as to the meaning of life itself between him and many others, and this difference coloured his language as well as his activities. His language, vivid and powerful as it often was, drew its inspiration from the religious and moral teachings of the ages, principally of India but also of other countries. Moral values must prevail, the ends can never justify unworthy means, or else the individual and the race perish.

And yet he was no dreamer living in some fantasy of his own creation, cut off from life and its problems. He came from Gujrat, the home of hardheaded businessmen, and he had an unrivalled knowledge of the Indian villages and the conditions of life that prevailed there. It was out of that personal experience that he evolved his programme of the spinning-wheel and village industry. If immediate relief was to be given to the vast numbers of the unemployed and partially employed, if the rot that was spreading throughout India and paralysing the masses was to be stopped, if the villagers' standards were to be raised, however, little *en masse*, if they were to be taught self-reliance instead of waiting helplessly like derelicts for relief from others, if all this was to be done without much capital, then there seemed no other way. Apart from the evils inherent in foreign rule and exploitation, and the lack of freedom to initiate and carry through big schemes of reform, the problem of India was one of scarcity of capital and abundance of labour—how to utilize that wasted labour, that manpower that was producing nothing. Foolish comparisons are made between manpower and machine-power; of course a big machine can do the work of a thousand or ten thousand

persons. But if those ten thousand sit idly by or starve, the introduction of the machine is not a social gain, except in long perspective which envisages, a change in social conditions. When the big machine is not there at all, then no question of comparison arises; it is a net gain both from the individual and the national point of view to utilize manpower for production. There is no necessary conflict between this and the introduction of machinery on the largest scale, provided that machinery is used primarily for absorbing labour and not for creating fresh unemployment.

Discovery of India, P. 404-405

G.D.H. Coie, the economist, has said that 'Gandhi's campaign for the development of the home-made cloth industry is no mere fad of a romantic eager to revive the past, but a practical attempt to relieve the poverty and uplift the standard of the village.' It was that undoubtedly, and it was much more. It forced India to think of the poor peasant in human terms, to realize that behind the glitter of a few cities lay this morass of misery and poverty, to grasp the fundamental fact that the true test of progress and freedom in India did not lie in the creation of a number of millionaires or prosperous lawyers and the like, or in the setting up of councils and assemblies, but in the change in the status and conditions of life of the peasant. The British had created a new caste or class in India, the English-educated class, which lived in a world of its own, cut off from the mass of the population, and looked always, even when protesting, towards its rulers. Gandhi bridged that gap to some extent and forced it to turn its head and look towards its own people.

Gandhiji's attitude to the use of machinery seemed to undergo a gradual change. 'What I object to,' he said, 'is the craze for machinery, not machinery as such.' 'If we could have electricity in every village home, I shall not mind villagers plying their implements and tools with electricity'. The big machines seemed to him to lead inevitably, at least in the circumstances of today, to the concentration of power and

riches: 'I consider it a sin and injustice to use machinery for the purpose of concentration of power and riches in the hands of the few. Today the machine is used in this way'. He even came to accept the necessity of many kinds of heavy industries and large-scale key industries and public utilities, provided they were state-owned and did not interfere with some kinds of cottage industries which he considered as essential. Referring to his own proposals, he said: 'The whole of this programme will be a structure on sand if it is not built on the solid foundation of economic equality.'

Thus even the enthusiastic advocates for cottage and small scale industries recognize that big-scale industry is, to a certain extent, necessary and inevitable; only they would like to limit it as far as possible. Superficially then the question becomes one of emphasis and adjustment of the two forms of production and economy. It can hardly be challenged that, in the context of the modern world, no country can be politically and economically independent, even within the framework of international interdependence, unless it is highly industrialized and has developed its power resources to the utmost. Nor can it achieve or maintain high standards of living and liquidate poverty without the aid of modern technology in almost every sphere of life. An industrially backward country will continually upset the world equilibrium and encourage the aggressive tendencies of more developed countries. Even if it retains its political independence, this will be nominal only, and economic control will tend to pass to others. This control will inevitably upset its own view of life. Thus an attempt to build up a country's economy largely on the basis of cottage and small-scale industries is doomed to failure. It will not solve the basic problems of the country or maintain freedom, nor will it fit in with the world framework, except as a colonial appendage.

Discovery of India, P. 407-408

Always there has been that inner conflict within him and in our national politics, between Gandhi as a national leader and Gandhi as a man with a prophetic message, which was

not confined to India but was for humanity and the world. It is never easy to reconcile a strict adherence to truth as one sees it, with the exigencies and expediencies of life, and especially of political life. Normally people do not even worry themselves over this problem. They keep truth apart in some corner of their minds, if they keep it at all anywhere, and accept expediency as the measure of action. In politics that has been the universal rule, not only because, unfortunately, politicians are a peculiar species of opportunists, but because they cannot act purely on the personal plane. They have to make others act, and so they have to consider the limitations of others and their understanding of, and receptivity to, truth. And because of this they have to make compromises with that truth and adapt it to the prevailing circumstances. That adaption becomes inevitable, and yet there are always risks attending it; the tendency to ignore and abandon truth grows, and expediency becomes the sole criterion of action.

Gandhi, for all his rock-like adherence to certain principles, has shown a great capacity to adapt himself to others and to changing circumstances, to take into consideration the strength and weakness of those others, especially of the mass of the people, and how far they were capable of acting up to the truth as he saw it. But from time to time he pulls himself up, as if he were afraid that he had gone too far in his compromising, and returns to his moorings. In the midst of action, he seems to be in tune with the mass mind, responsive to its capacity and therefore adapting himself to it to some extent; at other times he becomes more theoretical and apparently less adaptable. There is also the same difference observable in his action and his writings. This is confusing to his own people, and more so to others who are ignorant of the background in India.

How far a single individual can influence a people's thought and ideology, it is difficult to say. Some people in history have exerted a power influence, and yet, it may be that they have emphasized and brought out something that already existed in the mind of the people, or have give clear

and pointed expression to the vaguely felt ideas of the age. Gandhi's influence on India's mind has been profound in the present age; how long and in what form it will endure only the future can show. His influence is not limited to those who agree with him or accept him as a national leader; it extends to those also who disagree with him and criticise him. Very few persons in India accept in its entirety his doctrine of non-violence or his economic theories, yet very many have been influenced by them in some way or other. Usually speaking in terms of religion, he has emphasized the moral approach to political problems as well as those of everyday life. The religious background has affected those chiefly who were inclined that way, but the moral approach has influenced others also. Many have been appreciably raised to higher levels of moral and ethical action, many more have been forced to think at least in those terms, and that thought itself has some effect on action and behaviour. Politics cease to be just expediency and opportunism, as they usually have been everywhere, and there is a continuous moral tussle preceding thought and action. Expediency, or what appears to be immediately possible and desirable, can never be ignored, but it is toned down by other considerations and a longer view of more distant consequences.

Gandhi's influence in these various directions has pervaded India and left its mark. But it is not because of his non-violence or economic theories that he has become the foremost and most outstanding of India's leaders. To the vast majority of India's people he is the symbol of India determined to be free, of militant nationalism, of a refusal to submit to arrogant might, of never agreeing to anything involving national dishonour. Though many people in India may disagree with him on a hundred matters, though they may criticize him or even part company from him on some particular issue, at a time of action and struggle when India's freedom is at stake they flock to him again and look up to him as their inevitable leader.

Discovery of India, P. 444-446

In late months, leading up to August, 1942, Gandhiji's nationalism and intense desire for freedom made him even agree to Congress participation in the war, if India could function as a free country. For him this was a remarkable and astonishing change, involving suffering of the mind and pain of the spirit. In the conflict between that principle of non-violence, which had become his very life-blood and meaning of existence, and India's freedom, which was a dominating and consuming passion for him, the scales inclined towards the latter. That did not mean, of course, that he weakened in his faith in non-violence. But it did mean that he was prepared to agree to the Congress not applying it in this war. The practical statesman took precedence over the uncompromising prophet.

Discovery of India, P. 447

The Gujratis were essentially a community of peaceful traders and merchants, influenced by the Jain doctrine of non-violence. Other parts of India had been influenced much less by this and some not at all. The widespread Kshatriya class of warriors certainly did not allow it to interfere with war or hunting wild animals. Other classes also, including the Brahmins, had been as a whole little influenced by it. But Gandhiji took an electric view of the development of Indian thought and history, and believed that non-violence had been the basic principle underlying it, even though there had been many deviations from it. That view appeared to be far-fetched and many Indian thinkers and historians did not agree with it. This had nothing to do with the merits of non-violence in the present stage of human existence, but it did indicate a historical bias in Gandhiji's mind.

Discovery of India, P. 452

Gandhiji's knowledge of India and the Indian people is profound. Though not greatly interested in history as such, and perhaps, not possessing that feeling for history, that historical sense, which some people have, he is fully conscious and intimately aware of the historical roots of the Indian people. He is well informed about current events and follows

them carefully, though inevitably he concentrates on present-day Indian problems. He has a capacity for picking out the essence of a problem or a situation avoiding non-essentials. Judging everything by what he considers the moral aspect, he gets a certain grip and a longer perspective. Bernard Shaw has said that though he (Gandhi) may commit any number of tactical errors, his essential strategy continues to be right. Most people however are not much concerned with the long run; they are far more interested in the tactical advantage of the moment.

Discovery of India, P. 453

Gandhiji's general approach also seemed to ignore important international considerations and appeared to be based on a narrow view of nationalism. During the three years of war we had deliberately followed a policy of non-embarrassment, and such action as we had indulged in had been in the nature of symbolic protest.

Discovery of India, P. 472

Our mutual discussion led to a clarification of much that had been vague and cloudy, and to Gandhiji's appreciation of many international factors to which his attention was drawn. His subsequent writing underwent a change and he himself emphasized these international considerations and looked at India's problem in a wider perspective.

Discovery of India, P. 473

Events marched ahead, and yet, curiously, Gandhiji, who had said so much about action to protect the honour of India and affirm her right to freedom, and as a free national to co-operate fully in the fight against aggression, said nothing at all about the nature of this action.

Discovery of India, P. 476

On this day our first thoughts go to the architect of this freedom, the Father of our Nation, who, embodying the old

spirit of India, held aloft the torch of freedom and lighted up the darkness that surrounded us. We have often been unworthy followers of his and have strayed from his message, but not only we but succeeding generations will remember this message and bear the imprint in their hearts of this great son of India, magnificent in his faith and strength and courage and humility.

A message to the Press, New Delhi, August 15, 1947,
J.N.S. Vol.—1, P. 27-28

The Government's decision in regard to the payment of the cash balances to Pakistan has been taken after the most careful thought and after consultation with Gandhiji. I should like to make it clear that this does not mean any change in our unanimous view about the strength and validity of the Government's position as set out in various statements made by distinguished colleagues of mine. Nor do we accept the facts or arguments advanced in the latest statement of the Finance Minister of Pakistan.

Statement from New Delhi, January 15, 1948

Since I last wrote to you, everything that has happened has been completely overshadowed by Gandhiji's fast*.

It has come on us suddenly and stunned many even of us who know him well. I am writing this letter with a prayer in

* Mahatma Gandhi undertook a fast from 13 January which, as he put it, was his address "to the conscience" of all communities in both the Dominions where the communal situation was growing worse. Gandhiji was also distressed over the Indian Cabinet's decision to withhold payment of Rs. 55 crores, payable to Pakistan as assets of partition, until the settlement of Kashmir, as it feared that Pakistan would purchase arms with that amount to sustain fighting in Kashmir. Gandhiji broke the fast on 18 January when the representatives of various organisations and communities in Delhi gave an assurance that peace and amity would be ensured in the Capital, and after the Indian Cabinet decided to release the amount to Pakistan.

my heart—which I have not ceased to make ever since I first heard of the fast—that we may be spared the supreme tragedy. It is not necessary that I should write and explain to you the significance which Gandhiji attaches to the fast; he has done it himself and it is impossible for others, however closely associated with him, to interpret his unique approach any more clearly than he can. There is, however, one aspect which may be useful for me to mention particularly to those Premiers who are far removed from the gruesome events of Punjab and Delhi.

The last prolonged fast which Gandhiji undertook was in 1943 when he was a prisoner. That fast was for a purpose which the man in the street understood and wholly sympathised with. His recent fast in Calcutta was also for an easily understood purpose which had the support of the overwhelming bulk of the people. The fast which he has now undertaken is less easy for the general public to understand; and in fact there are sections of them more particularly among the refugees, who do not sympathise with it and are in a sense antagonistic to it. Therein lies its significance and supreme courage.

Letter to Chief Ministers, Vol. I, P. 48-49
January 17, 1948

This is not the occasion to analyse—no one can analyse them—the complex of urges which must have driven Gandhiji to take this supreme step but quite clearly its main purpose is to make the majority community in India search its heart and purge itself of hatred and the desire to retaliate. In the atmosphere in which it has been undertaken, it displays a degree of heroism of which only Gandhiji is capable.

Letter to Chief Ministers, Vol-I, P-50,
January 17, 1948

You will have read the decision of the Government of India to implement immediately the financial agreement between India and Pakistan by paying to the latter Rs. 55

crores minus certain sums which have to be set off against this. This decision was undoubtedly taken under the influence of Gandhiji's fast, though the fast itself had nothing to do with it. To some this may appear a quixotic gesture. But I am convinced that it was not only the right thing to do in the circumstances but eminently wise from the larger point of view of India's good. It shows to the world on what high plane India functions.

Letter to Chief Ministers, Vol. I, P. 55

January 17, 1948

The death of Mahatma Gandhi, who was the tremendous cementing force of India, has again weakened our political and social fabric. At this moment, the first essential is that we must hold together and subordinate our minor differences in order to face the common peril.

May I mention here a personal matter ? It has distressed me greatly that a whispering campaign should go on, sometimes encouraged by those who should know better, to the effect that there are great differences in the Central Cabinet and that all manner of manoeuvres and intrigues go on.*

Letter to Chief Ministers, Vol. I, P. 58

February 5, 1948

I regret greatly that the representative of Pakistan should have made many statements and charges in the Security Council against India which have no foundation in fact. A great deal has happened in India and Pakistan during the last six months or more which has brought shame on all of us and I am prepared to admit at any stage and at any time the errors of our own people, for I do not think that it is good for

* Nehru and Patel had differed over the authority of the office of Prime Minister; but, bearing in mind Mahatma Gandhi's last advice, had agreed to face "together as friends and colleagues" the situation created by Mahatma Gandhi's death.

the individual or the nation to lapse from truth. That is the lesson our Master taught us and we shall hold on to it to the best of our ability.

Statement in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative),
March 5, 1948

Mahatma Gandhi taught us to place politics on an ethical level.

Speech in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative),
New Delhi, April 3, 1948, J.N.S. Vol. I, P. 74

In India during the last quarter of a century and more Mahatma Gandhi made an outstanding contribution not only to the freedom of India but to the cause of world peace. He taught us the doctrine of non-violence, not as a passive submission to evil, but as an active and positive instrument for the peaceful solution of international differences. He showed us that the human spirit is more powerful than the mightiest of armaments. He applied moral values to political action and pointed out that ends and means can never be separated, for the means ultimately govern the end. If the means are evil, then the end itself becomes distorted and at least partially evil. Any society based on injustice must necessarily have the seeds of conflict and decay within it so long as it does not get rid of that evil.

All this may seem fantastic and impractical in the modern world, used as it is to thinking in set grooves. And yet we have seen repeatedly the failure of other methods and nothing can be less practical than to pursue a method that has failed again and again. We may not perhaps ignore the present limitations of human nature or the immediate perils which face the statesmen. We may not, in the world as it is constituted today, even rule out war absolutely. But I have become more and more convinced that so long as we do not recognize the supremacy of the moral law in our national and international

relations we shall have no enduring peace. So long as we do not adhere to right means, the end will not be right and fresh evil will flow from it. That was the essence of Gandhiji's message and mankind will have to appreciate it in order to see and act cleanly. When eyes are bloodshot vision is limited.

Broadcast from New Delhi, April 3, 1948

India has built up some kind of a reputation for right and impartial conduct, Chiefly because of Mahatma Gandhi's magnificent personality and the emphasis he always laid on right means. That was not merely a moral precept but a wise and expedient policy. In the days of difficulty ahead of us we should try to remember the teaching of the Master and not allow ourselves to be led astray by momentary passion.

Letter to Chief Ministers, Vol. I, P. 200

September 1, 1948

May I take the House into my confidence? When this question first came up, I sought guidance, as I often did in the other matters, from Mahatmaji and I went to him repeatedly and put to him my difficulties. The House knows that apostle of non-violence was not a suitable guide in military matters—and he said so—but he undoubtedly always was a guide on the moral issues. I put my difficulties and my Government's difficulties before him because the moral aspect of this question has always troubled me.

Speech in The Constituent Assembly (Legislative)

September 7, 1948

I have no doubt that this assembly is going to solve our problems. I am not afraid of the future. I have no fear in my mind, and I have no fear even though India, from a military point of view, is of no great consequence. I am not afraid of the bigness of great powers, and their armies, their fleets and their atom bombs. That is the lesson which my Master taught

me. We stood as an unarmed people against a great country and a powerful empire.

Speech in the United Nations General Assembly, Paris,
November 3, 1948

May, I in all humility but also with pride, remind this conference of the message of the Father of our Nation who led us through the long night of our subjection to the dawn of freedom ? It was not through hatred or violence or intolerance of each other, he told us, that nations grow in stature or attain their freedom.

Presidential Speech inaugurating the eighteen-nation Conference on
Indonesia, New Delhi, January 20, 1949

We were born and bred, if I may say so, politically in the Gandhian doctrine. We did not adopt Gandhiji's views wholly either in regard to non-violence or in regard to economics. Nevertheless, we accepted many of them as suited to our country—and perhaps even to the world, if not a hundred per cent, at least in a large measure.

Speech at the 22nd annual meeting of the Federation of Indian
Chambers of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi,
March 4, 1949, J.N.S. Vol. I, P. 136

Not only were we revolutionaries and agitators and breakers-up of many things, but we were bred in a high tradition under Mahatma Gandhi. That tradition is an ethical tradition, a moral tradition and at the same time it is an application of those ethical and moral doctrines to practical politics. That great man placed before us a technique of action which was unique in the world, which combined political activity and political conflict and a struggle for freedom with certain moral and ethical principles. I dare not say that any of us, or all of us, lived up to those ethical and moral principles, but I do say that in the course of the past 30 years or so, all of us, in a smaller or greater degree, and the country

itself in a smaller or greater measure, were affected by those ethical and moral doctrines of the Great Master and Leader.

Speech in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative), New Delhi,
March 8, 1949, J.N.S. Vol. I, P. 237

We have not often thought enough of Gandhiji and his great doctrine, of his great message, and while we praised it often enough, we felt: "Are we hypocrites, talking about it and being unable to live up to it? Are we deluding ourselves and the world?" Because if we are hypocrites, then surely our future is dark. It is a dangerous thing to be hypocritical about the great things of life. And it would have been the greatest tragedy if we exploited the name and prestige of our great leader took shelter under it and denied in our hearts, in our activities, the message that he had brought to this country and the world. We cannot and I am quite positive that our great leader would not have had us behave as blind automatons just carrying out what he had said without reference to the changes in events. On the other hand, we have to keep in mind those very ideals to which we have pledged ourselves so often.

Speech in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative), New Delhi,
March 8, 1949, J.N.S. Vol. I, P. 238

We should be flexible in mind and we should be receptive, but I have also no doubt at all that we should not allow ourselves, if I may use the words of Gandhiji, to be swept off our feet by any wind from anywhere.

Speech in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative), New Delhi,
March 8, 1949, J.N.S. Vol. I, P. 246

I have naturally looked to the interests of India, for that is my first duty. I have always conceived that duty in terms of the larger good of the world. That is the lesson that our Master taught us and he told us also to pursue the ways of

peace and of friendship with others, always maintaining the freedom and dignity of India.

Broadcast from New Delhi, May 10, 1949,
J.N.S. Vol. I, P. 271

Confidence can come in full measure only if we tread a path which we believe to be right. It is this essential belief in the moral rightness of our cause and of the methods that we employed under Gandhiji's guidance, that gave us that strength in the past which brought freedom. So we have to develop afresh or to revive that moral enthusiasm for a great and elemental cause which, when it moves the people, yields magnificent results. Morality, in this context, does not mean the petty morality of the bigot or the puritan seeking to interfere with other people's lives. It means rather the larger morality of having a great cause to work for and adhering to honourable methods. It means taking a broader view of this great country and of the world and rising above pettiness of communalism, provincialism and faction.

Letter to Chief Ministers, Vol. I, P. 431, August 15, 1949

We have suffered in the past from a semi-feudal outlook of looking down on labour and that pursues us still to some extent. Gandhiji attacked this outlook and always laid stress on the dignity of labour. He described himself, quite rightly, as a worker, a spinner, a weaver, and even a sweeper.

Letter to Chief Ministers, Vol. I, P. 444, August 15, 1949

Today, on this anniversary, I feel full of confidence for the future and I want to share this confidence with you. As I write this, I look at a picture of Gandhiji and a multitude of ideas come to my mind. I think of the great brotherhood he built up in this country and his infinite labour in training our people. That great work has borne substantial fruit already. But it will yield even greater fruit in the future.

Letter to Chief Ministers, Vol. I, P. 446, August 15, 1949

It was out of this ancient and yet young India that Mahatma Gandhi arose and he taught us a technique of action that was peaceful; yet it was effective and yielded results that led us not only to freedom but to friendship with those with whom we were, till yesterday, in conflict.

Speech in the House of Representatives and the Senate,
Washington D.C., October 13, 1949, J.N.S. Vol. II, P. 200

In India, there came a man in our own generation who inspired us to great endeavour, even reminding us that thought and action should never be divorced from moral principle, that the true path of man is the path of truth and peace. Under his guidance, we laboured for the freedom of our country with ill will to none and achieved that freedom. We called him reverently and affectionately the Father of our Nation. Yet he was too great for the circumscribed borders of any one country and the message he gave may well help us in considering the wider problems of the world.

From Speech in the House of Representatives and the Senate,
Washington D.C., October 13, 1949

The objectives of our foreign policy are the preservation of world peace and enlargement of human freedom. India may be new to world politics and her military strength insignificant in comparison with that of the giants of our epoch. But India is old in thought and experience and has travelled through trackless centuries in the adventure of life. Throughout her long history she has stood for peace and every prayer that an Indian raises, ends with an invocation to peace. It was out of this ancient and yet young India that Mahatma Gandhi arose and he taught us a technique of peaceful action. It was effective, and yielded results that led us not only to freedom but to friendship with those with whom we were, till yesterday, in conflict.

From Speech in the House of Representatives and the Senate,
Washington D.C., October 13, 1949

We are weak in some ways but there is one lesson we learned many years ago from our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, in the days when we were still weaker. Our people, though they were unarmed, with no wealth or other outward symbol of strength at their command, faced a powerful and wealthy empire which had been in India for a large number of years.

It was a strange contest. I look back to that period just thirty years ago when Mahatma Gandhi, in a sense, burst upon the Indian scene. He was, of course, known before and loved and admired for his work in South Africa but he had not functioned on an all-India plane. He suddenly started functioning. And there was some magic about the message he gave. It was very simple. His analysis of the situation in India was essentially that we were suffering terribly from fear, especially the masses in India and even others. So he just went about telling us, 'Don't be afraid. Why are you afraid? What can happen to you?' Of course, when he talked in these terms he was thinking of the political fear that we had.

Whether there was something in the atmosphere or some magic in Gandhi's voice, I do not know. Anyhow, this very simple thing. 'Don't be afraid,' when he put it that way caught on and we realized, with a tremendous lifting of hearts, that there was nothing to fear. Even the poor peasant straightened his back a little and began to look people in the face and there was a ray of hope in his sunken eyes. In effect, a magical change had come over India.

Address to the East and West Association, the Foreign Policy Association, the India League of America and the Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, October 19, 1949, J.N.S. Vol. II, P. 204-205

Gandhi came on the scene and he offered a way of political action to us. It was an odd way—a new way. What he said was not new in its essence. Great men had said it previously but there was a difference in that he applied that teaching to mass political action. Something which the

individual had been taught to do in his individual life was suddenly sought to be adopted for mass action.

Address at the University of Chicago, October 27, 1949,
J.N.S. Vol. II, P. 399

Gandhi came and he told them that there was a way out—a way of achieving freedom. ‘First of all’, he said, shed your fear. Do not be afraid, and then act in a united way but always peacefully. Do not bear any ill will in your hearts against your opponent. You are fighting a system, not an individual, not a race, not the people of another country. You are fighting the imperialist system or the colonial system.

There was some power in his voice, something in him which seemed to infuse other people with courage and make them feel that this man was not an empty talker, that he meant what he said and that he would be able to ‘deliver the goods’, if I may put it so.

Almost magically, his influence spread, And within a few months we saw a change come over our countryside.

Address at the University of Chicago, October 27, 1949,
J.N.S. Vol. II, P. 400

That great man, whom we call the Father of our Nation, gave some impress of his mighty personality to India and more especially to our generation. And so, today, as we look out upon the world and fashion our foreign policy, we are governed by something of that idealism as well as the realistic approach that Gandhi gave to our struggle.

Address at the University of California, October, 31, 1949,
J.N.S. Vol. III, P. 417-418

It sometimes happens that a whole nation, under some great leader or a mighty urge, raises itself, moulds events and makes the history of its choice. This is what happened when Mahatma Gandhi burst upon the consciousness of India and moved her people to great deeds by the magic of his personality

and his message. The Father of the Nation is no longer with us but we still have his message and something of the spark that he lighted within us. The great work that he started is half finished and we have to go ahead without much rest or respite to complete it.

Broadcast from All India Radio, New Delhi, December 7, 1949,
J.N.S. Vol. II, P. 535

We must try to start afresh with open minds and open hearts, even for those who happen to differ from us. It was the sovereign method of Gandhiji to attract and convert even the doubters and the quibblers. Even more so we have to look into our own hearts and see where we have erred and what we have left undone. If we function rightly and with integrity of mind, other right results will also follow.

Letter to Chief Ministers, Vol. II, P. 4, January 18, 1950

Mahatma Gandhi once spoke warningly of the countries of the world looking at one another with bloodshot eyes. There is something fateful about that sentence. He said, "Keep your eyes clear."

Reply to debate on the President's Address in Parliament,
New Delhi, February 3, 1950. J.N.S. Vol. II, P. 134

This may sound strange to some people, for memories are short, and we have forgotten already many of the lessons that Gandhiji taught us. In those days, which seem so far off now, we measured our action by our own faith and strength and not by what the opponent did. That opponent was out to check and counter us at every step. The lesson we learnt was that right action always strengthens, even though it might not produce the full result we desire.

Letter to Chief Ministers, Vol. II, P. 71, April 15, 1950

You know that many of us in this country have spent a great part of our lives in trying, though imperfectly, to follow

the lead of our great leader. We were poor stuff. Again and again, he gave us the strength and the vision to achieve our goal. For thirty years of more, we took shelter under his shadow and under his guidance. He preached non-violence and, strangely enough, we following him to some extent, though we did not quite understand him,. We felt the greatness of his presence and his personality and we followed him in certain things to the best of our ability.

Speech at the eleventh session of the Institute of Pacific Relations,
Lucknow, October 3, 1950

Even in resisting evil and aggression, we have always to maintain the temper of peace and hold out the hand of friendship to those who, through fear or for other reasons, may be opposed to us. That is the lesson that our great leader Mahatma Gandhi taught us and imperfect as we are, we draw inspiration from that great teaching.

Broadcast from B.B.C., London, January 12, 1951,
J.N.S. Vol.-II, P. 275

I am not a pacifist. Unhappily, the world of today finds that it cannot do without force. We have to protect ourselves and to prepare ourselves for every contingency. We have to meet aggression and evil of other kinds. To surrender to evil is always bad. But in resisting evil we must not allow ourselves to be swept away by our own passions and fears and act in a manner which is itself evil. Even in resisting evil and aggression we have always to maintain the temper of peace and hold out the hand of friendship to those who, through fear or for other reasons, may be opposed to us. That is the lesson that our great leader Mahatma Gandhi taught us and, imperfect as we are, the draw inspiration from that great teaching.

Broadcast from London, *ibid* January 12, 1951

Here, in India, many of us grew up under two great traditions—I may say, India grew up under two great

traditions—embodied in two mighty men, Gandhi and Tagore, these two man gave birth to India as she is today.

Address at the UNESCO Indian National Commission,
New Delhi, March 24, 1951. J.N.S. Vol. II, P. 369

Gandhi occupies and will occupy a pre-eminent place. We are too near him to judge him correctly. Some of us came in intimate contact with him and were influenced by that dominating and very lovable personality. We miss him profoundly, for he had become a part of our own lives. With us the personal factor is so strong that it comes in the way of a correct appraisal. Others who did not know him so intimately cannot, perhaps, have a full realization of the living fire that was in this man of peace and humility. So, both these groups lack proper perspective or knowledge. Whether that perspective will come in later years when the problems and conflicts of today are matters for the historian, I do not know. But I have no doubt that in the distant as in the near future this towering personality will stand out and compel homage. It may be that the message which he embodied will be understood and acted upon more in later years than it is today. That message was not confined to a particular country or a community. Whatever truth there was in it was a truth applicable to all countries and to humanity as a whole. He may have stressed certain aspect of it in relation to the India of his day and those particular aspects may cease to have much significance as times and conditions change. The kernel of that message was, however, not confined to time or space. And if this is so, then it will endure and grow in the understanding of man.

He brought freedom to India and in that process taught us many things which were important for us at the time. He told us to shed fear and hatred; he told us of unity and equality and brotherhood, of raising those who had been suppressed of the dignity of labour and of the supremacy of things of the spirit. Above all, he spoke and wrote unceasingly

of truth in relation to all our activities. He repeated again and again that Truth was to him God and God was Truth.

Foreword to D.G. Tendulkar's *Mahatma*, June 30, 1951,
J.N.S. Vol. II, P. 572-573

The amazing thing about Gandhi was that he adhered. In the fullest sense, to his ideals and to his conception of truth; yet, he succeeded in moulding and moving enormous masses of human beings. He was not inflexible. He was very much alive to the necessities of the moment and he adopted himself to changing circumstances. But all these adaptations were about secondary matters. In regard to the basic things, he was very much alive to the necessities of the moment and he adapted his self to changing circumstances. But all these adaptations were about secondary matters. In regard to the basic things. He was inflexible and firm as a rock. For him, there was no compromise with what he considered evil. He moulded a whole generation and more and raised them above themselves for the time being at least. That was a tremendous achievement.

Foreword to D.G. Tendulkar's *Mahatma*, June 30, 1951,
J.N.S. Vol. II, P. 574

I have no doubt that, deep in the consciousness of India, the basic teachings of Gandhi will endure and continue to affect our national life.

No man can write a true life of Gandhi unless he is himself as big as Gandhi. So, we can expect to have no real and fully adequate life of this man.

Gandhi told us to cast away our fear and passion and to keep away from hatred and violence. His voice may not be heard by many in the tumult and shouting of today but it will have to be heard and understood some time or other if this world is to survive in any civilized form.

People will write the life of Gandhi and they will discuss and criticize him and his theories and activities. But to some

of us, he will remain something apart from theory—a radiant and beloved figure who ennobled and gave significance to our petty lives and whose passing has left us with a feeling of emptiness and loneliness. Many pictures rise in my mind of this man, whose eyes were often full of laughter and yet were pools of infinite sadness. But the picture that is dominant and most significant is as I saw him marching, staff in hand, to Dandi on the Salt March in 1930. Here was the pilgrim on his quest of truth, quiet, peaceful, determined and fearless, who would continue that quiet pilgrimage, regardless of consequences.

Foreword to D.G. Tendulkar's *Mahatma*, June 30, 1951,
J.N.S. Vol. II, P. 375-376

The story of India's long struggle for freedom under Gandhiji has powerfully impressed the world and, more especially, the Asian countries as well as the people of Africa. That tradition and Gandhiji's name are tremendous assets. In the eyes of large numbers of people we have stood for certain principles and we have adopted a certain technique and policy which brought us success.

Letter to Chief Ministers, Vol. II, P. 463, August 1, 1951

Our great leader, Gandhiji, with the magic that was in him, filled the whole country with something of his own spirit. Our movement developed an ethos in which all of us shared to some degree. We did not scramble for office or profit or think of our bank accounts; we thought of other things and as we think, so ultimately we act.

Letter to Chief Ministers, Vol. II, P. 596, May 4, 1952

This morning, as usual, many of us visited Rajghat and paid tribute to Gandhiji. It seems long ago since he left us. And yet at other times the feeling of his presence is strong and vivid. Through we may drift away somewhat from our old moorings, something of that gracious memory lingers,

something of that inspiration endures, and a sentinel voice sounds in our ears.

Letter to Chief Ministers, Vol. III, P. 119,
October 2, 1952

A moment came in the life of this country when a large number of our countrymen aligned themselves to mighty purpose at the bidding of a very great man—Mahatma Gandhi. These men forgot their personal grievances and ambitions in an overwhelming desire to serve a great purpose and thereby grew in stature themselves. If you try to do great things, the shadow of their greatness partly falls upon our also. If you always dwell on the petty things of life, you inevitably remain petty. And so, in India's fight for freedom, many people of small stature had the high privilege of serving under one of the greatest of men and of being associated with their country's historic struggle.

Address at the University of Saugor, October 30, 1952,
J.N.S. Vol. II, P. 436

Mahatma Gandhi taught us that hunger-strike was a weapon. He warned us always about it and it was from a sense of self-purification that he used it. But how it has become a weapon which is often used for other purposes by ill-intentioned people.

Letter to Chief Ministers. Vol. III, P. 421, November 6, 1953

I said in Patna* that I would sooner have our universities closed down than to continue in this way. I meant it then and I still mean it, though of course that is no solution of the problem and is only a negative approach.

Letter to Chief Ministers, Vol. III, P 443, November 15, 1953

* On 1 November, Nehru suggested that the system of basic education, favoured by Mahatma Gandhi, be introduced in place of the existing system of university education.

It is not realized in many foreign countries that whatever troubles we may have to face, fear is not one of them, Great nations with vast power at their command are afraid of each other. Perhaps it is because we have no such great power that we are not afraid. Our present generation has faced a great imperial power with little else than a stout will to free itself. We grew unaccustomed to this psychology of fear under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and we have not entirely forgotten that lesson yet.

Letter to Chief Ministers, Vol. III, P. 455.

December 1, 1953

Take the problem of untouchability. Nevertheless, we came to the conclusion long ago that it must be done away with not only because it was unjust but, as Gandhiji repeatedly said, for the very survival of Hindu society.

Speech in Lok Sabha during the debate on The Special Marriage Bill,

May 22, 1954 J.N.S. Vol. III, P. 442

General Cariappa made a suggestion sometime ago that we should observe one minute's silence on the 26th January in memory of those who gave their lives in the struggle for India's freedom.

It seems to me that January 30th would be both more appropriate and more feasible. That day is already observed as a day of remembrance for Mahatma Gandhi. We might perhaps fix some time on the morning of that day, say at 10 a.m. for one minute's silence. It might be possible to have a simple ceremonial in Delhi itself at Rajghat at that time, such as the placing of some flowers. In other places in India we should try to have this one minute's silence and stoppage of movement as far as possible.

Letter to Chief Ministers, Vol. III, P. 618, July 30, 1954

You may remember that our great leader. Mahatmaji, always laid stress on the manner of doing things, on the

means employed. It is good to have a right objective, to have right ends in view, but he always said that it is more important to adopt right methods and right means.

Speech at a reception at Pondicherry, January 16, 1955.

J.N.S. Vol. III, P. 462

My country not only believes in peace, but all its traditions are in favour of peace. Our great master Mahatma Gandhi taught us above all to value peace—not a passive peace but an active peace.

From a Speech in Warsaw, June 25, 1955

Gandhiji defended—not only defended but in fact encouraged—the Indian Army going to Kashmir to defend Kashmir against the raiders. It is surprising that a man like Gandhiji, who was absolutely committed to non-violence, should do that kind of thing. So that, even he, in certain circumstances, admitted the right of the State, as it is constituted, to commit violence in defence. The Government of India, obviously, cannot give up that right in the existing circumstances.

The House will remember how the archpriest of satyagraha, Mahatmaji, put a full stop to the whole movement and said: “Only one man will go now.” Compared to him we are novices. We cannot pretend to understand the important points of satyagraha.

Reply to debate on Goa in Lok Sabha, July 26, 1955

Our development in the past thirty years or so has been under Mahatma Gandhi. Apart from what he did for us or did not do, the development of this country under his leadership was organic. It was something which fitted in with the spirit and thinking of India.

From a Speech in Lok Sabha, September 17, 1955,

J.N.S. Vol. III, P. 307

Some people take rather a narrow and lop-sided view of Gandhiji. None of us perhaps is fully capable of understanding all the aspects of his manysided character. We cling to one or two aspects not realizing that we do not see the whole of that remarkable personality. Many, I suppose, took the letter of what he said and paid little attention to the spirit, to the underlying philosophy for which he stood. You will remember that often he let us have some glimpses into his mind which would show that that mind was deep and wide and looked not only at the millions of our people but at the whole of humanity.

Functioning at a particular moment in India as the leader of a great struggle against a mighty empire, he brought methods and tools into play which were particularly suited for that struggle as well as for the constructive activity of the nation. He laid stress on village industries and, curiously enough, even those who were critical of him, who were sceptical above village industries and the like, today stand for village industries and the development of our rural areas. Others have arrived only gradually and through painful processes of reasoning at the conclusion he arrived at intuitively.

Speech at the inauguration of Production at the Integral Coach Factory, Perambur, Madras, October 2, 1955. J.N.S. Vol. III. P. 24

Let us have all kinds of arguments and disputes amongst us. But once we decide, and decide democratically and peacefully, let us act accordingly.

It was in the measure that we acted up to this principle during the great movement led by Gandhiji that the strength of the Indian nation was built up.

Speech at Bangalore, October, 6, 1955, J.N.S. Vol. III, P. 31-32

We may often have to accept somebody else's opinion even though we do not like it; that is the way of democracy. That is how we functioned in the Congress movement for forty years. Gandhiji was no autocrat. He could have imposed his

will on anybody, but when he did impose it, it was only through this love and affection and through the regard we had for him and for his wisdom. Often we argued with him, fought him, and sometimes even convinced him of our point of view.

Speech at Bangalore, October, 6, 1955, J.N.S. Vol. III, P. 35

Most of you probably did not see Gandhiji at close quarters. He had amazing qualities. One of these qualities was that he managed to draw out the good in another person. The other person may have had plenty of evil in him. But he somehow spotted the good and laid emphasis on that good.

Address at the second Inter-University Youth Festival,
New Delhi, October 23, 1955, J.N.S. Vol. III, P. 473

Our development in the past thirty years or so has been under Mahatma Gandhi. Apart from what he did for us or did not do, the development of this country under his leadership was organic. It was something which fitted in with the spirit and thinking of India. Yet it was not isolated from the modern world, and we fitted in with the modern world. This process of adaptation will go on. It is something which grows out of the mind and spirit of India, though it is affected by our learning many things from outside.

Speech at a Civic Reception to Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev,
Calcutta, November 30, 1955

After a very long period of conflict and pulling in different directions, we, Britain and India, solved our problem amicably and in a way which left hardly any trace of that past record of conflict and ill will. That, I think, was a remarkable achievement. Of course, the person who was responsible for this in the greatest measures was our Leader and Master, Gandhiji, who had trained this great nation to behave, and not to harbour ill will. We did not all come up to this test, but some little bit of that discipline and training remained in us and saved us often enough.

Speech at the Banquet for the Earl and Countess Mountbatten,
New Delhi, March 15, 1956, J.N.S. Vol. III, P. 478

When this first invasion took place in Kashmir and we sent our soldiers, I was very greatly worried. All our upbringing had been against war and for peace and our plunging in there and taking these risks of war upset me very much. And, naturally, I went to Mahatma Gandhi to seek his advice, I did not wish to drag him into the picture but I could not help doing it as long as he was there. His advice was that in the circumstances it was the duty of India to go to the rescue of Kashmir and to go with Armed Forces.

Reply to Foreign Affairs debate, Lok Sabha March 29, 1956,
J.N.S. Vol. III, P. 219

I might tell you that so far as I am personally concerned the three men who had influenced me most in my life have been my father, Gandhiji and Rabindranath Tagore.

Interview by K.G. Saiyidain on All India Radio, May 6, 1956,
J.N.S. Vol. III, P. 482

Our country is a large one and our population is considerable. But we have no desire to interfere with any other country. We have no hatreds and we have been nurtured under the inspiring guidance of our great leader. Mahatma Gandhi, in the ways of peace. We want to be friends with all the world. We know our failings and seek to overcome them, so that we might be of service to our own people and to the world.

Speech at the inauguration of the Ninth General Conference of
the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural
Organisation (UNESCO), New Delhi, November 5, 1956,
J.N.S. Vol. III, P. 503

I welcome, in this great year of celebration, this renewed interest and desire to find out, to know and understand and to be influenced, more and more, by the great message of the Buddha. In India, this year has shown a remarkable awakening in this respect. Our mind was prepared for it in many ways,

not only by many past happenings but by our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, who conditioned us in the course of this and the last generation, and whose voice and message sounded so often to us as a reiteration of the Buddha's.

Valedictory address at the seminar on Buddhism's contribution to Art,
Letters and Philosophy, New Delhi, November 29, 1956,
J.N.S. Vol. III, P. 430-431

During these millennia of history India has experienced both good and ill. But throughout her chequered history she has remembered the message of peace and tolerance. In our own time, this message was proclaimed by our great leader and master, Mahatma Gandhi, who led us to freedom by peaceful and yet effective action on a mass scale.

From Television and Radio address, Washington, December 18,
1956, J.N.S. Vol. III, P. 47

Through the centuries, India has preached and practised toleration and understanding, and has enriched human thought, art and literature, philosophy and religion. Her sons journeyed far and wide, braving the perils of land and sea, not with thoughts of conquests or domination, but as messengers of peace or engaged in the commerce of ideas as well as of her beautiful products. During these millennia of history, India has experienced both good and ill but, throughout her chequered history, she has remembered the message of peace and tolerance. In our own time, this message was proclaimed by our great leader and master, Mahatma Gandhi, who led us to freedom by peaceful yet effective action on a mass scale. We in India today are children of this revolution and have been conditioned by it. Although your revolution in America took place long ago and the conditions were different here. You will appreciate the revolutionary spirit which we have inherited and which still governs our activities.

From Television and Radio address, Washington,
December 18, 1956 J.N.S. Vol. III. P. 47

There was a time when we dreamt of freedom. Many people thought it impossible to win freedom from a mighty empire. But a man came—a man whose name all of you know—a slender, thin man with a gentle voice. But he was a wonderful man. His voice resounded in the country, in the ears of the millions of its people. He reminded us our duty. He told us that no nation could make progress without freedom. Like Lokmanya Tilak who regarded freedom as our birth-right, he said freedom was our right as a matter of religion. And so started our long journey on the road towards freedom.

Speech at a Civic Reception to President Eisenhower,
New Delhi, December 13, 1956

Wars begin in the minds of men. Cold wars mean nourishing the idea of war in the minds of men. Gandhiji was devoted to non-violence and preached this principle all through his life, and yet he said: “If you have a sword in your mind, it is better to use it than to nurse and nourish it in your mind all the time. Take it out, use it and throw it away, instead of being frustrated in yourselves and always thinking of the sword or the use of the sword and yet superficially trying to avoid it.”

Speech in the United Nations General Assembly, New York,
December 20, 1956 I.F.P. P. 176-177

It was a terrible thing and yet there was Kashmir being looted, its people being murdered, there was arson and frantic appeals came to us from the people of Kashmir, apart from the Ruler. It was a very difficult decision to take. Fortunately we had Gandhiji with us at that time. I am not using Gandhiji's name to entangle him in this matter. I do so merely to tell you that as usual I ran to him for some advice and light. I believe he also spoke publicly about this matter. He told us it was our duty to go to the help of the people of Kashmir. He, a man of peace, told us so.

Speech at Island Ground, Madras, January 31, 1957,
J.N.S. Vol. III, P-229

Hardly any major struggle in history has ended without leaving a trail of extreme bitterness behind. More especially this applies to national struggles against foreign rulers. The virtue of Gandhiji's method, even though large numbers of his followers fell very short of his teachings, was that the minimum of hatred was produced and when a solution and a settlement came, there was no marked trail of bitterness to pursue succeeding generations.

Letter to Chief Ministers, Vol. IV, P. 536 August 15, 1957

How can they serve India properly unless they know what India is and how independence gradually took shape? I do not know what kind of education is being given at present in our schools and colleges. I do hope that one of the essential subjects from the lowest forms upwards will be something dealing with this heritage of India, from the past right up to the present and including, more especially, Gandhiji and the struggle for our independence under his great leadership. That will not only be some kind of a historical account, but will lay stress on the high principles for which Gandhiji stood and the moral and ethical approach to our problems. I would indeed suggest that for our higher competitive examinations, there should be a compulsory paper on this subject.

Letter to Chief Ministers, Vol. IV, P. 618, November 26, 1957

I write this in Darjeeling with the mighty Kinchinjunga looking down upon us. This morning I had a glimpse of Everest. It seemed to me that there was about Gandhiji something of the calm strength and the timelessness of Everest and Kinchinjunga.

Darjeeling,
December 27, 1957

From Foreword in Vol. I, C.W.M.G.

I had referred to the peculiar history of the relationship between our two countries. We have learnt much from you; perhaps you might have learnt something from us. We in India chose for leader a man the like of whom probably would

not be a leader in any other country in the world. He had no power behind him of money of arms, yet a great power over the hearts and minds of people. And in that sense, he represented India, not only the long past of India, but the present and even the future much more than any of us is likely to do or can do now or later. That shows something of the values she has adhered to.

Speech at the Banquet held in honour of Mr. Harold Macmillan,
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, New Delhi,
January 9, 1958, I.F.P., P. 572

In our political movement for freedom, women in India, at Gandhiji's appeal, joined it in considerable numbers and that gave the movement its living spark.

Speech at the inauguration of the Fifth Annual Conference
of State Social Welfare Advisory Boards, New Delhi,
March 18, 1959, J.N.S. Vol. IV, P. 429

There has been no appeasement Neither do we have what might be called anti-policies. We do not believe in anti-policies, because they are based on hatred, and are typical of the cold war approach. If you have an enemy you have to fight, go and fight him. Down him if you can. But the cold war attitude is more pernicious than any straight-out war. It perverts a nation and the individual who indulges in it. As Gandhiji said, if you have a sword in your heart, it is far better to take it out and use it than nurse it in your heart.

Reply to a Debate in Lok Sabha, November 27, 1959, I.F.P., P. 368

Our old relations with Nepal were further strengthened when we fought for the freedom of India. Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Indian Nation, did not influence India alone; he influenced Nepal considerably. He influenced other countries as well, but Nepal in a special sense. Therefore, if one questions the relationship between Nepal and India, one only proves one's ignorance. Again, there are many things in our political life which have joined us together. There is a unity of

outlook between us regarding the independence and progress of our countries in a democratic way. We see eye to eye with each other on many of the external problems also. Therefore, it is apparent that Nepal should be interested in what we do in India and India should be interested in what is done in Nepal.

Speech in reply at Banquet held in his honour by Mr. B.P. Koirala, Nepal, New Delhi, January 27, 1960, I.F.P., P. 440

The best publicity is what one does in one's country. The best publicity figure that I have known in my term of years was Mahatma Gandhi, because he did things in India. He did not talk to the outside world. He just did things which forced public attention on India, and which brought people running to India to see what he was doing in India and made newspapers write about him and his work. This happened because there was solidity in his work.

Speech in Lok Sabha, March 17, 1960, I.F.P., P. 247

We have opposed not only war but also what is called the cold war because this represented the approach of hatred and violence. We have endeavoured to follow, in our limited and imperfect way, the teaching of two great sons of India, the Buddha and Gandhi.

Speech at Banquet held in honour of Mr. Chou En-Lai, New Delhi, April 20, 1960, I.F.P., P. 384

I do not think that the world "neutral" suits me all. That positive aspect of life is derived from the conditioning I have had in my life. These factors are many, but the principal factor is the Indian national movement with Gandhi as its leader.

Statement at Press Conference at the U.N. Correspondents' Association, New York, October 4, 1960 I.F.P., P. 85

We have been interested in this for a long time past. In fact, it is well to remember that it was in south Africa, fifty years ago, that our leader Mahatma Gandhi started his first

campaign against racial inequality and racial domination and suppression. Ever since our independence, our interest in the matter has grown, so also that of other countries.

Statement in Rajya Sabha, March 27, 1961, I.F.P., P. 549

There is a definite distinction between being strong and being brutalized. I need not mention an instance which has lent prestige to our history—the instance of the long period when Gandhiji was controlling the destinies of our movement for freedom. No man can say that Gandhiji was brutal. He was the essence of humility and of peace. No man can say that Gandhiji was weak. He was the strongest man that India or any country has produced. It was that peculiar mixture of strength with sacrifice to the uttermost, yet a certain humility in utterance and a certain friendly approach even to our opponents and enemies, that made him what he was.

Reply to a debate in Lok Sabha on the Resolution on Chinese Aggression, November 14, 1962, J.N.S. Vol. IV, P. 236

We have to remove these barriers that have come between us and our people. The great success of Gandhiji's movement was that he removed many of these barriers.

Speech while intervening in the debate in Lok Sabha on the Official Languages Bill, April 24, 1963, J.N.S. Vol. V, P. 27

Gandhiji laid stress on relatively simple language, and a language which is understood by most people and which is, to some extent, an amalgam of Hindi and Urdu, as far as possible, retaining the basis of Hindi.

Speech while intervening in the debate in Lok Sabha on the Official Languages Bill, April 24, 1963, J.N.S. Vol. V, P. 31

We have stood for peace throughout our struggle for freedom under Gandhiji's leadership, and we have stood for peace ever since we became free.

Address at a public meeting at Panjim (Goa), May 22, 1963, J.N.S. Vol. V, P. 53

The whole philosophy of Gandhi, although he did not talk perhaps in the modern language, was not only one of social justice, but of social reform and land reform. All these concepts were his.

Speech on the No-Confidence Motion against the Government,
Lok Sabha, August 22, 1963, J.N.S. Vol. V, P. 80

We have been trained, specially men of my generation in India, under Mahatma Gandhi. Although we are rather poor specimens, and we often failed him in many things, we were influenced by him and moulded by him, and to some extent that influence remains with us, in spite of the hard knocks that we have had to bear.

Address at the World Federalists Conference, New Delhi,
September 4, 1963, J.N.S. Vol. V, P. 205

I am one of the relics of the Gandhian days. Economists like Dr. Rao used to criticize the spinning wheel. They said : "What has that to do in our age of machinery?" That criticism was right from many points of view. Yet what Gandhiji did was fundamentally right. He was looking all the time at the villages of India, at the most backward people in India in every sense, and he devised something. It was not merely the spinning wheel; that was only a symbol. He laid stress on village industries, which again to the modern mind does not seem very much worthwhile.

Speech at a Seminar on Social Welfare in a Developing Economy,
New Delhi, September 22, 1963, J.N.S. Vol. V, P. 101

We put up huge steel plants and the like, which please us and build up our morale and all that, but hundreds of millions of people cannot be asked to wait for some future age for betterment in their living standards. It is too much for them to do so. Therefore, we have to think also of other kinds of developments for the mass of our people even if it raises them only slightly.

Therein lies the virtue of Mahatma Gandhi's teachings. People think that he was against machinery. I don't think he was against it. He did not want machinery except in the context of the well-being of the mass of our people. What he suggested—cottage industry—was something which immediately benefited the people, not only in regard to employment but also in production.

Speech at a Seminar on Social Welfare in a Developing Economy,
New Delhi, September 22, 1963, J.N.S. Vol. V, P. 104

Who was the bravest man that India has produced in our times? Mahatma Gandhi was by far the bravest man whom I have ever met. He was not a man who used arms or one who suppressed others; but he was invincible in the strength of his mind and believed that nobody could suppress him or buy his soul for anything.

Broadcast to the Nation on the eve of the National Solidarity Day,
New Delhi, October 19, 1963. J.N.S. Vol. V, P. 9

The normal planner proceeds like this; he makes a theoretical approach. It is very good in theory, but it sometimes ignores certain human factors. He says that for this item we want production, and the best way to have production is, say, to put up a factory or something at a place where it will yield most results.

The result is that they go on gathering factories and such like things at special locations. As they gather production units, it becomes easier to start still another factory there. That may be logical, and that may yield more production, but it is not a very human approach, considering the size of India.

I begin to think more and more of Mahatma Gandhi's approach. It is odd that I am mentioning his name in this connection. I am entirely an admirer of the modern machine, and I want the best machinery and the best technique, but, taking things as they are in India, however, rapidly we

advance towards the machine age—and we will do so—the fact remains that large numbers of our people are not touched by it and will not be for a considerable time. Some other method has to be evolved so that they become partners in production, even though the production apparatus of theirs may not be efficient as compared to modern technique, but we must use that, for, otherwise, it would be wasted. That idea has to be kept in mind. We should think more of the very poor countrymen of ours and do something to improve their lot as quickly as we can. This problem is troubling me a great deal.

Reply to the Debate on Planning, Lok Sabha,
December 11, 1963. Vol. V, P. 136-137



Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru were two blazing stars which burst upon the horizon of resurgent India and welded the people of India into a single entity against the British rule. Their images will remain alive in the conscience of Indian masses for awakening them from deep slumber of slavery.

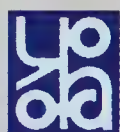
This thoughtful selection of references by Mahatma Gandhi to Pandit Nehru and vice versa at various forums mirrors the minds of these stalwarts during and after the freedom struggle of our country. The book not only enlightens the readers about the significance of the relationship between two great minds but also provides rare glimpses of their ideas on a whole gamut of issues confronting India of their time.

Mahatma Gandhi
Poona

Now that you are launched on your great enterprise may I send you again love and greetings and assure you that I feel more clearly now that whatever happens it is well and whatever happens you win

Jawahar

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